The settlement history of Paionian Bylazora

A functional analysis of the ceramic evidence

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Acknowledgments

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Chapter I: Introduction

Bylazora was the largest of Paionia, a small cultural area to the north of ancient Macedonia. Since 2008 the supposed site of the city is under archaeological investigation by the Texas Foundation for Archaeological and Historical Research. In the present study I shall conduct a functional analysis on the pottery found at the site, during the first field season. Such an approach will hopefully provide answers to questions surrounding the settlement history of Bylazora, which this material is trace of, through enabling a description of the activities that took place in and around a ramp-building complex discovered on the acropolis.

This study shall attempt to answer several questions. Will a functional approach to the pottery tell us something new about life, and changes in ways of life, at Bylazora? Can a functional analytic model be developed specifically for this site and material, and will this yield answers otherwise unattainable? Furthermore, will it tell us something about which activities took place in each context, and will all the contexts together amount to a picture of the nature or function of the area? And finally, can this enable us to draw a sketch of the settlement history, i.e. level of urbanization, prosperity, and intensity, and changes thereof over time, for this part of the site?

The data has been limited to one particular sector of the excavated area since most of the dig's focus was directed towards unearthing and understanding its chronology. The basis for the study will be a Microsoft Access database containing all of the registered pottery vessels. Special attention will be given to the fine-ware, both local and imported, for chronology purposes. Each vessel will be assigned to an activity category according to its function, based on shape, type, and use. The material will then be separated according to phase and context. Within each context, distributing the total number of vessels among the functional categories will enable one to approach a possible activity that took place in that particular context. When analyzed diachronically this should show how activities continued or changed over time.

This project is a testing ground for applying functional analytical models to a ceramic assemblage. The analytical model developed for the site and material is meant as a tool for future seasons. This study is first and foremost meant to demonstrate the usefulness and potential that such an approach to ceramic material has. That is one of the premises for the project. This opens for questions to be posed throughout the study concerning future

possibilities and potentials that cannot be concluded at the present, though this has been attempted at all times. As this was the first season of a planned long-term excavation the only realistic ambition for this work-in-progess has been to do a preliminary study of the pottery finds. Generally it is hoped that it will form a basis on which later seasons' material and study can build, and that it will have been well enough executed to set an academic standard for such a potentially important site.

This study relies on first-hand empirical, rather than secondary, sources. Being the first excavation conducted on a culture of which knowledge is limited, it was necessary to provide the raw-data. This was facilitated by the author being partially responsible for excavating the site. Pottery reading and classification was conducted jointly by the author and Boban Husenovski, who was officially responsible for the pottery. Finally the database and catalogues for this project were created. The recording and initial analyzing of the material was conducted continuously during the months of field work, June-July, 2008, creating a preliminary catalogue, while the database and final catalogue were created in Athens, Rome, and Oslo during the following autumn.

Documentation done on site, such as field journals, maps, etc., that has yet to be published, had to be utilized out of need, despite the fact that they will be difficult for the reader to attain. Much of the following is the author's own interpretation of these documents, some is the result of analyzing the data along with other individuals in charge of the excavation, and some is presented as it is. As much as possible of otherwise unavailable information has been included in the appendix.

One of the main problems when working on this project was the lack of available literature for cross-reference. Very little has been published outside of FYROM, even less has been published in English or under English titles. Those publications that were available had only summaries or abstracts in a familiar language, often of such poor quality as to be confusing or even contradictory. This, in addition to the lack of work done on Paionian sites, resulted in a heavy reliance on material from not strictly Paionian settings, most notably Macedonian and Greek. This has its advantages and disadvantages. Since no contexts from the same or similar site were available, the material was not studied on the background of any known contexts. Little could therefore be taken for granted about the pottery, which lead to a more empirical approach than would have been the case otherwise. On the other hand this may lead to incorrect conclusions about typology, relative and absolute chronology, etc. Such a margin of error was unavoidable at the present.

Paionia and Paionians

Though its borders varied greatly between the first mention of Paionia in the Iliad and its succumbing to the Roman Empire, the heartland of the Paionians was essentially the land between the upper flows of the Axios and Strymon rivers, south of Skopje, and north of the border between Greece and FYROM. At its territorial height the Paionian kingdom stretched out to the northern Aegean. Paionian culture and history is marked by two factors. One is the access to the Aegean and the Greek societies there. The other is the country's position at a cultural crossroad, wedged in between Illyrians to the west, Macedonians to the south, Thracians to the east, and Dardanians to the north.

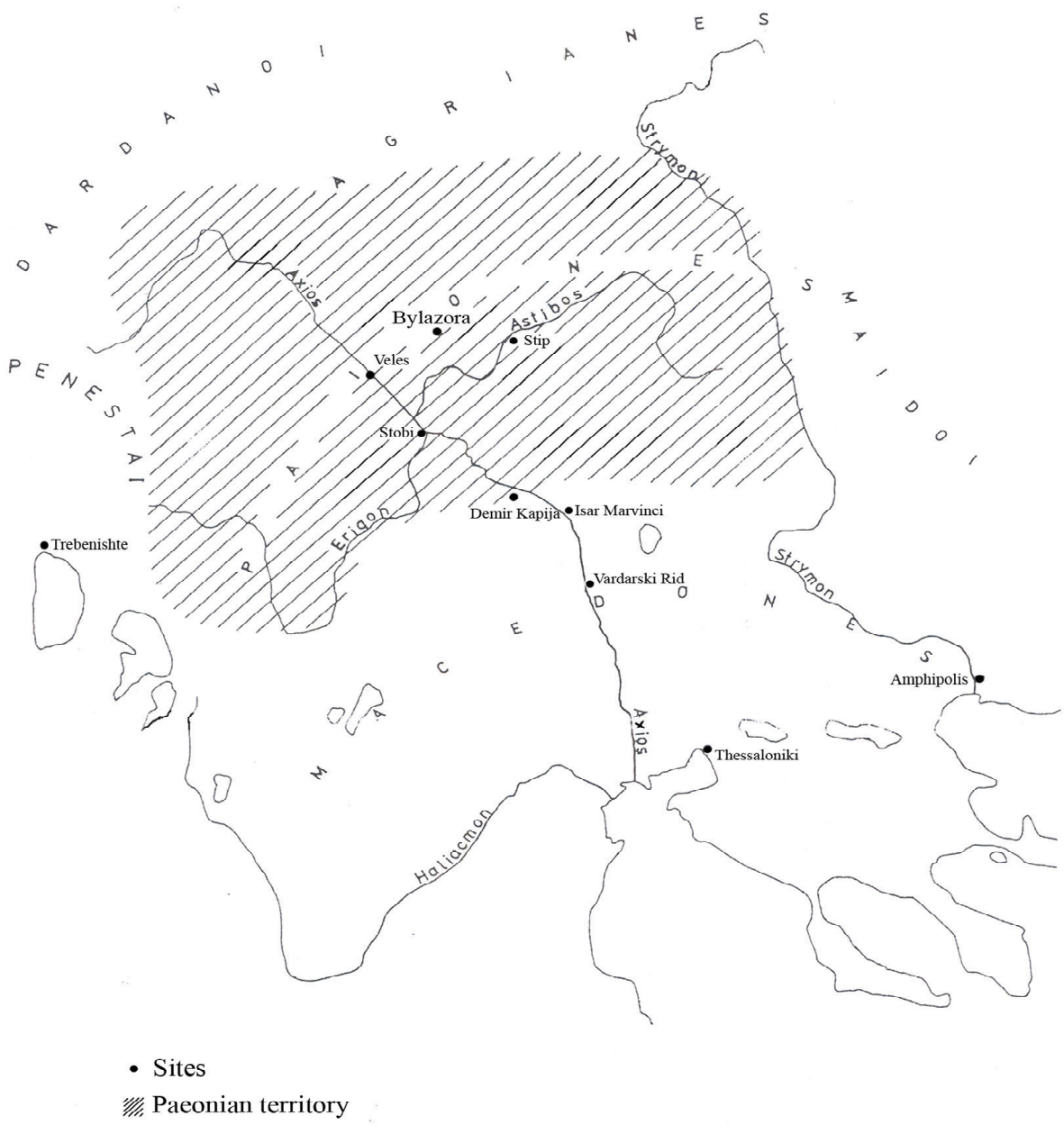


Fig. 1. Map showing the extent of Paionian territory during the 4th century.

Homer is the first to mention the Paionians. In the Iliad they are horse raisers from the banks of the Axios, where their major city is Amydon (Il: II.848-850). Led by two chieftains, Pyraichmes and Asteropaios (Il: XIV.287-291, XXI.139-187), they fight with curved bows for the Trojans (Il: X.428-9).

In the 6th century increasing contact with Greeks through their territorial expansion to the south made an impact on Paionian society at a profound level. This is visible in the material, religion, and probably affected their language and writing. The institution of monarchy probably arose at this time. But with the 5th century came a decline. Land was lost to the Macedonians and Persians. Waging a protracted war against Macedonia involved the Paionians in the great events of the Greek world, such as the Persian and Peloponnesian War.

By the 4th century they again gradually prospered economically and politically. Close relations with Athens were established. We can now name their kings, many of whom founded dynasties, and all of whom came from a fairly small circle of nobles. In the 340's the Paionians lost several battles against Philip II. As a result the Paionians were made to pay tribute and their cavalry had to serve in the Macedonian army. But they still retained enough autonomy for their kings to oppose Macedonia and Dardania politically, at times aggressively.

However, by the 3rd century Paionia had become a vassal state of Macedonia. They still had kings, some of whom sent gifts to Delphi and Olympia. Increasing pressure from the Dardanians in the north and then the Gauls ushered in a new and final demise. At the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd century a series of Gallic invasions occurred, after which Balkan history becomes obscure. Caught up in the Macedonian Wars, Paionia was included under the province of Macedonia after that state's loss to the Romans. The Paionian polity ceased to exists, and Paionians are never again mentioned in history.

Dates	Paionian history
8th - 7th century	Paionia and Paionians mentioned in the Iliad
600	Paionians in direct contact with Greeks, and groups begin minting coins
550	First golden era of the Paionians
500	Early 5th century: Gradual decline of Paionian kingdom before Persian
475	and Macedonian expansion
375	Second golden era of the Paionians
325	Loss of Paionian independence to Philip II, kingdom still retains some
300	autonomy

250	Dropion last king (250-230)
200	217: Philip fortifies Bylazora
175	168: Paionia is reduced to Roman controlled republic

Table 1. Chronological table showing important events in Paionian history.

History of research

Paionia is a somewhat obscure field of our discipline for several reasons. Little is known from the ancient sources and as Paionian territory is situated in what throughout history has been a tumultuous part of Europe this has affected the archaeology conducted there. Focus in this region has tended to be on ancient Macedonia and the Roman occupational period, both because of the archaeological visibility of these and for political reasons. All in all, very little is known of Paionian culture, social structure, and polity.

The coins of Paionian kings have traditionally received the most attention abroad (Muret 1882a/b, Gaebler 1977). Large hoards of Greek-style coins from a very early age have been found and provided historians with much of their knowledge of the political history of Paionia and clues to their language (Petrova 1999: 3).

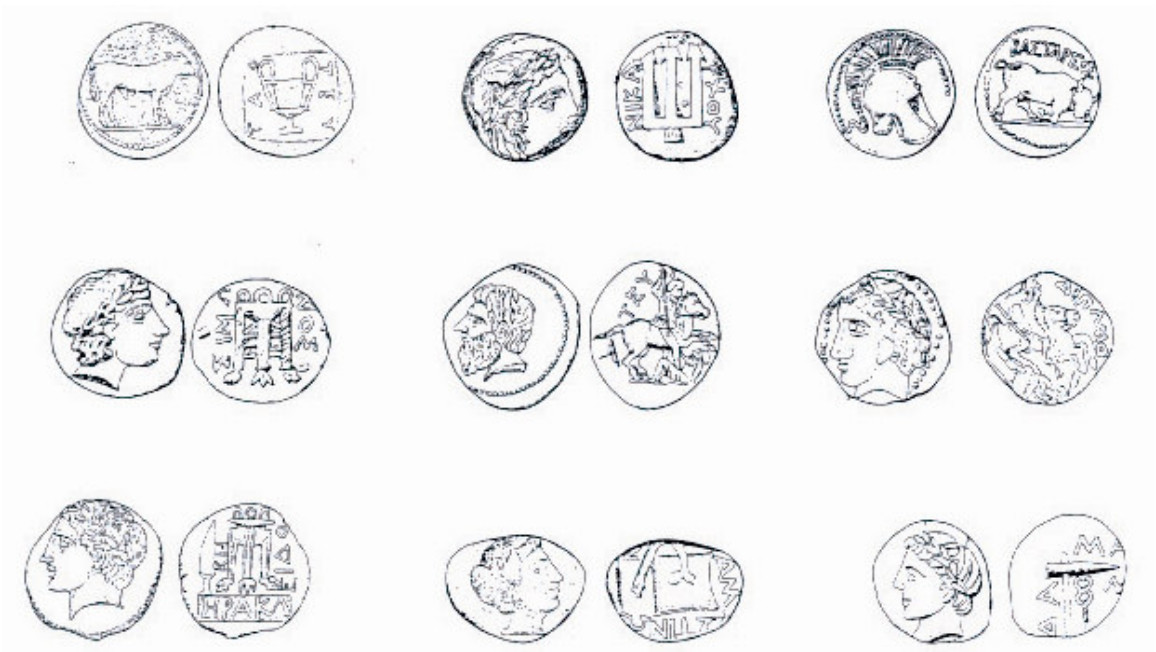


Fig. 2. A selection of Paionian coins.

Some scholarship on Paionia was conducted in German at the beginning of the previous century. Most important was Bulgarian born Bogdan Filow's direct involvement in the first proper excavation undertaken at Trebenishte and his subsequent publication of the finds made

(Filow 1927, for a summary of the site's history see Stibbe 2002). This called for the first time the attention of the broader academic world, as well as the public, to a culture, at least on some level, related to the Paionians.

A study of Paionian history almost contemporary to Filow's was Macurdy's, who, although discussing the Paionians of the *Iliad*, digresses briefly into historical times and was one of the very first to do so in English. A closing passage on the Paionians' waning power as Macedonia grew is worth quoting almost in full to illustrate an early view of Paionians, and concords well with Greek prejudice against barbarians: "and (they) remained a rude people of sportsmen and fighters, drinking their liquor out of the great gilded horns of the mighty bison" (Macurdy 1925: 96, a bronze head of such a bison was in fact sent to Delphi as a votive offering (Pausanias X.13)).

Perhaps the most central study on Paionian history and culture from an archaeologist's perspective is still the work done by N.G.L. Hammond in connection with his numerous studies on ancient Macedonia (1972, 1979, 1988, 1989). Several mentions of Paionians are also found in Wilkes' *The Illyrians* (1997). Unfortunately, none of them treats the Paionians in their own right but as Macedonian allies and enemies or as related to the Illyrians.

Within FYROM the situation has of late been somewhat different. Several ancient Macedonian sites have occupation levels that go back to a Paionian period, and so through the work done at these some Paionian culture has emerged to light. Vardarski Rid (possibly ancient Gortynia) and Stobi are two originally Paionian settlements which have been well explored. Both, however, were of a small size before they were assimilated into the Macedonian kingdom and the Roman Empire and not actual urban centres. Both projects have tended to emphasis later periods.

Several grave complexes have been explored, such as Trebenishte, Demir Kapija, and Isar. Trebenishte especially is an early discovery and held by many as the most important in Paionia (though the Paionian ethnicity of the people buried there is still disputed (Koshka 1972: 68, Stibbe 2002: 13, 34)). In its time this site gave rise almost singularly to the interest in Paionian archaeology (Koshka 1972: 59, and see above), mainly due to the very rich grave goods. This material, abundant with Greek imported jewellery and ceramics, and Paionian vessels of noble metals, shows a very sophisticated level of metallurgical craftsmanship and well established trade contacts (Petrova 1999: 54, 55).

The focus among students of pottery found in Paionian areas has tended to be on Greek imports, mostly for chronological purposes. Plain Attic Black Glaze, which was the most

common imported pottery at Bylazora, is often difficult to establish a chronology for, though it has been attempted from time to time. Much of our knowledge comes from the excavations undertaken in the Athenian Agora, and the studies of Sparkes and Talcott (*Agora* XII) and Rotroff (*Agora* XXIX) have been quintessential in this work. The study of Attic pottery in Paionia has mostly been the subject of works dealing with individual excavations, and not with a broader perspective. Some of the earliest finds made were those from the princely tombs of Trebenishte. But even here the Attic imports identified were of low quality and limited in shapes (Stibbe 2002: 70). Attic imports, supported by examples of White Ground Lekythoi, usually associated with the burial of actual resident Athenians, Attic grave stelae, and the appearance of Paionians in Athenian politics, points to close relations between Paionian society and the Athenian empire during its heyday (Mikulčić 2001: 132, Petrova 1999: 58, 167-169, Sokolovska 1986: 155).

There has been a relatively slow progress in the field of Paionian pottery. At the very earliest stage, some pottery found at Trebenishte was recognized as locally produced, and seen as remotely related to the Hallstatt culture (Koshka 1985: 68, Sokolovska 1986: 155). Studies were mostly done on the Hellenized grey-ware pottery, which was quickly regarded as a Paionian style (Sokolovska 1993: 147). Quite late on the other hand, it was recognized that Paionians had their own coarse-ware tradition (Sokolovska 1991: 181), which even survived the transition of most local pottery to wheel-thrown vessels and Greek styles. Paionian pottery, as always alongside coins, now plays a prominent part when studying any Paionian site.

History of method

Functional analysis of artefacts became a common approach from the 1960's onwards (Mills 1989: 133), with the emergence of New Archaeology. Since then it has principally been employed in the pre-historical sub-disciplines, usually in handling stone tools and pottery. As is the case with Classical archaeology (see below), study was initially restricted to typology, not whole assemblages. It was then applied to both, but in different ways. The individual vessel was studied for the use of ceramics in a subsistence system, while an assemblage would be studied to outline settlement patterns (Mills 1989: 133).

The late 1980' saw a more integral approach of the type Barbara J. Mills puts forward in her article (Mills 1989). Dealing with all the variables and trusting to the evidence of ethno-archaeological analogies she models assemblage formations through time and discusses why they turn out different (what she does not consider is the value of observing similarities).

Not all of the variables and analogies are applicable in a Paionian or Classical setting, but one would do well to consider the principles of assemblage formation within each site situation.

Functional analysis is not as tried and tested an approach to pottery as other more traditional methods in Classical archaeology. When similar "functional" studies have been attempted in the past they usually revolve around typology, ancient names and the uses they denote (*hydria* for carrying water, *oinochoe* for serving wine). What is seldom attempted is to look at the total pottery assemblage from one part of a society compared to the total assemblage from either another part of the same society or from the equivalent part of another. J. Rasmus Brandt (2004: 1; cf. also 1996: 171 – 172; 1999) has claimed that this is in large part due to excavators catalogue pottery finds. The criteria behind the organizing tend to group vessels according to similarities in elements subject to change, regardless of the other vessels from the same context, enabling comparisons to be made within the group, but not intra vessels.

The most common approach to pottery once taken out of the ground is its temporal origin according to style, decoration, production etc. Then it is often used to say something about trade if the ceramics are found to be imported or the development of art if painted (Sparkes 1996: 1, 2, 28, 29, 32). The material might also be studied in relation to others in order to date the context, but the next step of looking at the development of uses inter the total assemblage, or assemblages, is not taken. Vessels might be studied one by one and made to say something about their uses, however in order to say something about the *activity* the totality needs to be considered through categories. Then, and only then, is a functional analysis possible.

There has been some progress within the field. A notable example is Olynthus, where functional analyses were conducted in much the same way as in this study. The Olynthus-project will be drawn upon analogously. But problems arise when using pottery in an analogous manner. It would be unwise to assume that pottery is used in the exact same manner, and carries the exact same meaning, in even neighbouring societies. An imported vessel or shape from one society into another does not necessarily transfer the culture of its origin into the new. Are we, in short, using a viable analogy?

Secondly, from this one may infer that a proven activity traceable through the function of pottery at one site is not necessarily the same activity taking place on another with the same pottery. Similar activities might have left different material deposits, and different activities leave similar ones. The problem of symposium should suffice as an example. Paionians might have utilized the same vessels for mixing and drinking as those employed by

the Greeks, and the activity of an all-male drinking party could quite possibly have been enacted in much the same way, thus leaving a similar *footprint* in the archaeological record. But this does not need infer that the activity at hand was institutionalized, or played the same role, as the Greek symposium.

Analogical use of the Greek examples and material is a basic principle in this study. Wylie discusses at length the use of analogy in archaeology. The analogous use of most notably Greek society conforms closely to her formal analogy: a direct empirical comparison of characteristics, transferred from one case to another. Wylie has also concluded that critics have failed to come up with an alternative. The alternatives that have been proposed are in themselves analogous in form (Wylie 2002: 136). Wylie rather argues for *criteria of strength* in analogical arguments. One such criterion is that the argument can be strengthened through appeal to multiple similarities (Wylie 2002: 149, 150). In this study I have endeavoured to follow such criteria as much as possible.

In this project the material was divided into function reasonably corresponding to uses in the analogous societies. This *technofunction* of pottery can to a large extent be unique for each site, as it is closely related to subsistence and the settlement system (Skibo 1992: 34). But it is reasonable to assume that the Paionians would not use skyphoi as cooking pots, or perhaps not so farfetched, an Attic type saltcellar as incense burner, etc.

Olynthus may serve as a useful analogy to household organisation, and it will not be the first time a correspondence between Paionian and Greek society and culture is assumed (see e.g. Petrova 1999). Nor is it unsubstantiated. Both the archaeological record, especially jewellery and pottery, and the written sources indicates much contact. But more than other sources, the numismatic evidence tells us that at least from the time of minting the Paionians utilized an adaptation of the Greek alphabet (on their coins at least) and that they to some extent assimilated the Greek pantheon into their religion (Petrova 1999: 93-97, 130).

This exchange of ideas is mostly traceable within the aristocratic sphere of Paionian society. We do not know how this *class* was structured, what socio-political role they played, how they interacted with each other, and other members of society or the outside world. Even so, it is reasonable to assume, on the background of the exchange of goods of a type which exclusively circulated the Greek aristocracy, as well as of ideas such as language and religion, that on some important level members of the Greek and Paionian upper-class communicated on equal terms.

The implications could be taken even further when one considers that in order for the imported goods to work successfully as symbols employed by the aristocracy to, at the very

least, differentiate themselves from the rest of society, they had to initially have been rendered understandable as such symbols to society as a whole (Fletcher 2005: 203). Furthermore, the very nature of the architectural complex in question, its size, topographical position, and signs of repeated use, leads me to believe it was a public area. This would mean that a great number of different actors could have participated in the activities than went on around, on, inside, and outside of the complex, and so necessitated the need for use of effective and immediately recognisable *symbols* in the activities. The level of Hellenization in Paionian society needs to be kept in mind. The degree to which the Paionian household was similar to the Greek remains to be studied.

Bylazora

The archaeological site of Bylazora is the largest pre-Roman settlement in FYROM, and the only settlement east of the Vardar with continuous occupation older than the Hellenistic period (Petrova 1999: 78, 79). Bylazora, also known as the greatest city of the Paionians (Polybius V.97.i: *μεγίστην ούσαν πόλιν τής Παιονίας*), was long assumed to be located at the site of modern Veles. This was partially based on Livy's account (XLIV.26.viii), one of two ancient accounts on the location of Bylazora, partially on a highly dubious etymological connection. Livy mentions the city's location only in passing and the exact phrasing is quite ambiguous (it can easily be used to support Polybius' description (see below)).

As the placement at Veles was not verified archaeologically, Ian Mikulčić, as early as the mid-1970's, suggested a large plateau near the village of Knežje in Ovče Pole as the site of Bylazora, (Petrova 1999: 78). This was based on Polybius placement of Bylazora in the pass between Macedonia and Dardania (V.97.i-ii), and in my opinion also a correct reading of Livy's account. Sporadic explorations of the plateau were undertaken shortly thereafter. In the early 1990's a stone-lined chamber was accidentally found, and in the mid-1990's a small sounding uncovered parts of a fortification wall indicating the considerable size of the settlement (Petrova 1999: 78).

The reference to Bylazora as the greatest of the Paionian cities does not tell us anything about the city's political standing. Based on the literary sources many believe that Astibos was the capital of the Paionians, which was situated at the site of modern-day Stip (Sokolovska 1986: 171, Hammond 1989: 41, Beldedovski 1990: 159). The nearby river of the same name was according to Polyaenus the site of the coronation (τὸ βασιλικὸν λουτρὸν) of Paionian kings (IV.12). Demir Kapija and Trebenishte might both be royal burial-sites from the same era (Petrova 1999: 58, 59). But, although this idea still has its supporters

(Sokolovska 1986: 157), both are now usually refuted as the king's residence due to their peripheral positions on Paionian territory (Sokolovska 1986: 171, Petrova 1999. 87).

Notes on terminology

The name of Bylazora for the site is still not verified. It is used throughout this study both because of strong indications that it is indeed the historical city of that name, and because it is the official name of the excavation project and the archaeological site.

The term acropolis is also used throughout the study. It is only meant to denote the height or summit of the plateau on which the city is situated. Though a possible circuitry of fortifying walls attests to the summit's function as a citadel, the use of a Greek name do not confer *Greek* functions, unless discussed explicitly to be so.

Attic pottery is often referred to in this study. It will be argued on several occasions that there is evidence of close relations with Athens. It is also a strong argument for the material as Attic that during the period when Bylazora imported Greek pottery Attic production was at its height (i.e. 5^{th} – 4^{th} century). As ever one should take care not to fall into the trap of circular argumentation. The assumption that all of the imported fine-ware is Attic, and therefore studied typologically and chronologically as such, easily leads to the conclusion that Bylazora imported from Greece during the Attic heydays.

However, an alternative view is that Attic potters emigrated from Athens to found new workshops. There are examples of this happening in Magna Graecia, the most important being in Apulia and Lucania (Cook 1972: 191, 192). But also in northern Greece did this occur, such as at Olynthus and in Macedonia. Could this have happened in Paionia? These imported potters (possibly alongside clay) produced wares that so closely resembled the Attic that they to an extent replaced it, but this was apparently not the case in the northern Aegean (MacDonald 1981: 163).

For the purposes of this study the well known Attic typology was used to study the Greek imports. The term Attic denotes both a provenance attested to, and, more rarely, as a general term for high quality imitations of Attic Black Glazed. For each individual sherd fabric description is included in the database for checking.

Paionia has been, and still is, a fairly neglected area of the ancient world, within both history and archaeology. This is similar to other Balkan groups, such as the Illyrians and Thracians, though there is not a single entry related to Paionia in the Oxford Classical Dictionary (3^{rd} ed.). What little has been done by historians is based on scattered references made in Greek

and Roman sources and on coins. Archaeological research has mostly been restricted to burial contexts and the finds are not well known outside of FYROM. This project is a small contribution to the effort being made to change this.

All dates mentioned here and in the following are Before Christian Era, except in references and when dealing with dates that are obviously modern.

Chapter II: Site presentation

General topography

The site of Bylazora is located on a plateau overlooking a quite deep and narrow valley, in the middle of a very hilly pass running east-west (see fig. 3). This commands an exceptionally good overview of the pass and the adjoining plains at either end. The area had been given up to crop farming in modern times, apart from the acropolis with its ridge, which served at one point as a military installation. Quite recently the land was handed over to the authorities and is now only used as pastures. The top of the acropolis lies at an altitude of about 450 metres a.s.l., with the ramp-building complex resting at around 440.

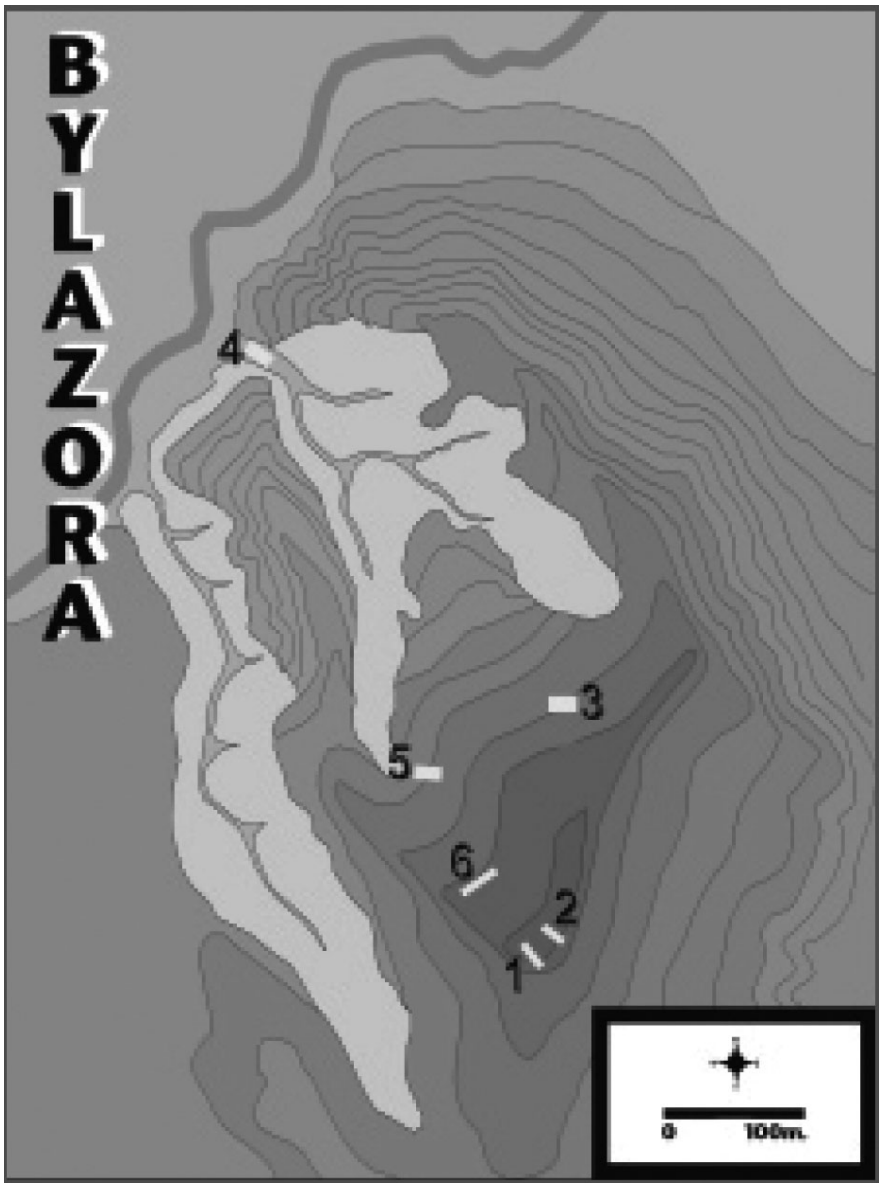


Fig. 3. Topographical map of Bylazora showing the excavated sectors.

Burial finds have accidentally been made southwest and east of the site during ploughing, and in the modern graveyard of the village Knežje, north of the site (Mikulčić 1990: 117). Based on finds distribution and the topography, the size of the site has been estimated to nearly 20 hectares (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 12, Petrova 1999: 78).

Though a very hilly terrain, there is no exposed bedrock in the immediate vicinity of the excavated site. The area is subject to climatic extremes in terms of temperatures, rain and wind, and there has not been any terracing for the purpose of detaining erosion. This causes exceptional movement of the soil, which is mainly silt. Erosion occurs both during dry and wet periods, due to the wind of the former and the torrential rain of the later. Consequentially the valley floor is filled with colluvial deposits from the site.

Because of these geomorphologic elements it is difficult to determine whether the gullies cut into the plateau in ancient times to the extent they do today and therefore to ascertain if part of the settlement might be lost. An idea of the shape of the plateau's slopes is also paramount for an understanding of the city's access to the valley floor, with is water sources, necropolis, and certain structures (see sector 4 below). Our understanding of the original shape of the acropolis is equally lacking. Generally, a more thorough geomorphologic survey is needed at Bylazora.

Method of excavation

The excavation of Bylazora follows Wheeler's method of a grid and square system. Each square measures 5 x 5 metres, and is assigned a letter according to its position on the x-axis and a number according to the y-axis. In each square, only 4 by 4 metres are initially excavated, leaving a one metre baulk in between them. The interlaying baulks can later be pulled down for a more complete view of any structures. Modified for this, a locus system based on one first developed by Sir Flinders Petrie was employed for recording. Each new feature or layer was assigned a locus number, and treated and recorded separately.

Due to the enormous amounts of fill covering the site the digging methods employed ranged from bulldozing to brushing. However, even bulldozing was done meticulously under the guidance of an archaeologist and a flat blade rather than claw used to scrape away the soil. As such, numerous important surface finds were made, and on a whole the finds give a good representation of the frequency of the different types of pottery in use at the site.

As the stratigraphy of the site became clearer, and as a consequence the extent of the fill layers on the hill was realized, a combination of mechanic and stratigraphic digging was employed.

The sectors

The following deals with the excavated sectors of the site relevant to the analysis.

Sector 4 consists of a monumental subterranean stone-lined chamber, with a staircase leading into it (see fig. 4). This was located on the valley floor directly north of site (fig. 3). The chamber was accidentally discovered during quarrying and partially excavated in 1994 but never fully investigated or preserved. In the time that has elapsed since neglect, looting of stones, and refilling of the chamber by groundwater has left the structure in such a state that further preservation work was deemed necessary during the 2008 season.

Fig. 4. Sector 4; chamber with staircase, viewed N.

The chamber measures 14 x 9 metres at the surface. The 22nd step of the staircase was found to be the lowest, but the enclosing walls continued to an as of yet unknown depth. The walls

are made up of finely cut limestone and yellow-green sandstone in *opus quadratum* (Danev 1996: 65), a different type and technique than any other structure at the site. No artefacts were found but it is assumed to have been built between the 7th and 2nd century, in accordance with the rest of the site.

The function of this structure remains a mystery (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 8, 9). Even it being subterranean can be disputed when one considers the massive amount of colluvial deposits surrounding it. Many of the stones had been reused from other buildings. Putlog holes were found in many but, though at the same level, they are not placed across from each other, and so were not used for any kind of support beams for a roof in this structure, as was first suggested (Danev 1996: 65, Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 8). This begs the question as to where the material was taken from.

Fig. 5. Sector 6; wall, viewed W.

In one of the earlier soundings at the site a number of very large, partially cut limestone rocks were found. During the 2008 season the sounding was reopened as sector 6 and expanded (fig. 3). When one cleaned up the sector it was discovered that the rocks were part of a monumental fortification wall (fig. 5), nearly 3.0 metres wide, running east-west, west of

sector 3. It is of the same building technique as the wall in sector 3 (M11.2), and it is hoped that the two will connect (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 7, 8).

Sectors 1 and 2 cover the three highest points of the acropolis. 3 soundings of 2.5 x 10 metres each were laid out, cross-sectioning a ridge hoped to contain a fortification wall. However, sterile soil was soon struck (see fig. 6). In sector 1 a depth of 2.0 metres was dug but not a single ancient artefact was found. On the other hand, at 0.8 metres a modern sardine tin was discovered (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 7). Some have argued that the entire top of the acropolis is an artificial mound, forming part of a ridge put up by the Yugoslav army for now disassembled bunker installations. The construction of the mound was denied by locals, but as no stratigraphy was found in the two vertical metres excavated, and since no official records of the bunker installations exists, the question is left open for future seasons.

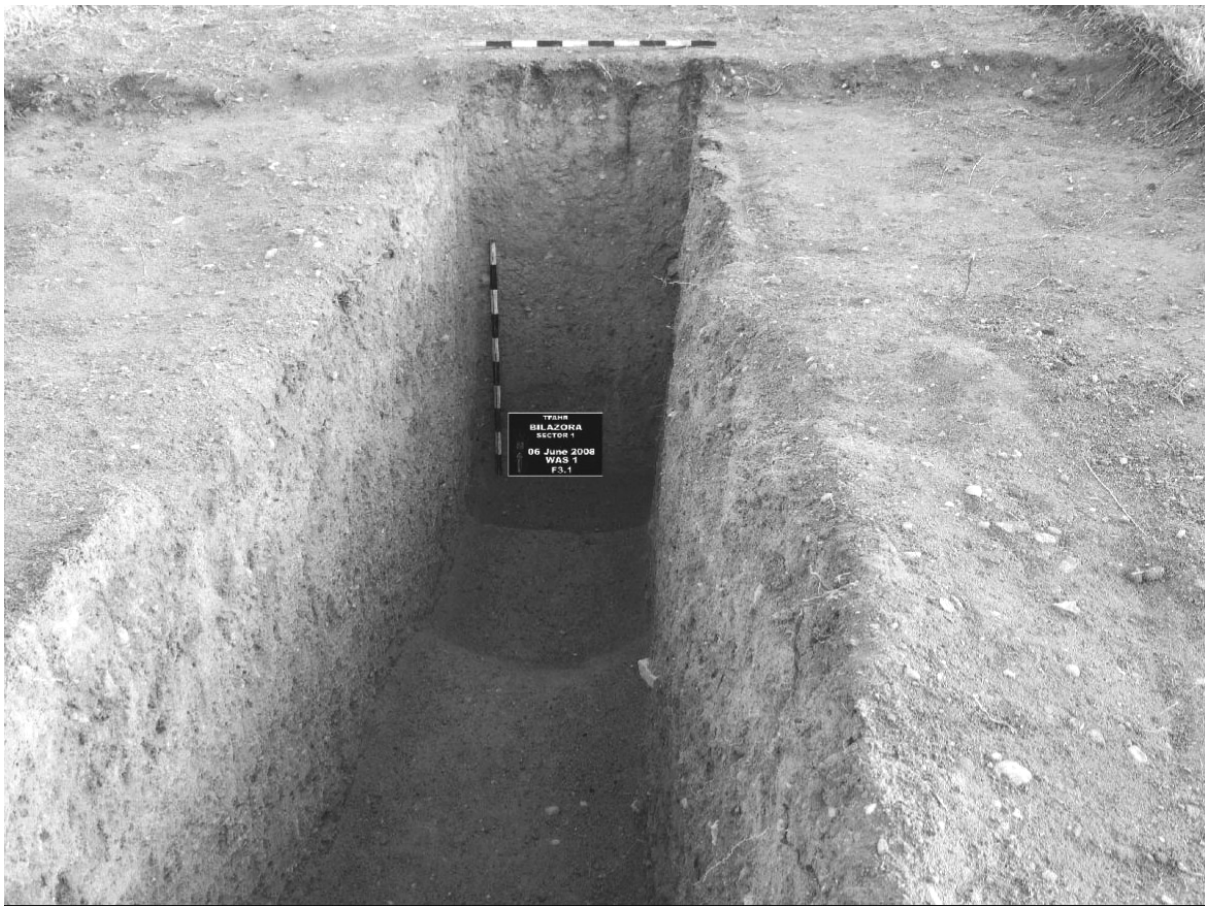


Fig. 6. Sector 1; sounding, viewed N.

Sector 3 was the main focus of this year's excavation (see fig. 41). A large stone wall had already been discovered in a sounding laid out in 1994, which had to be refilled due to looting of the building material. 5 x 5 metre squares in a 7 by 3 grid were laid out, oriented north-

south, with point zero at the summit of the acropolis (the only known height in the area). This sector was centred on the wall as a starting point, extending mostly lengthwise but also towards the north and south of it. Heavy rainfall on July 3rd led us to re-examine what we had assumed to be a line of curb stones for a street (the focus of the excavation had been shifted to older phases north of wall M11.2). The rain had exposed several new large stones and it out to be a ramp, M12.7. From then on manpower was diverted from the other sectors to explore the ramp and the complex adjacent to it.

North of wall M11.2 there were few intact contexts. Apart from a sandy fill put in as part of the wall construction, all intact contexts and structures antedated the wall. This was indicated both by the cutting of the wall into and over these contexts, as well as the pottery (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 12, 13). These phases are not directly relevant to this study.

Wall M11.2 itself was between 1.0 and 1.2 metres thick, and was built according to a rubble-filled polygonal technique (see fig. 7). The rocks ran mostly at three courses, but in places at four, and in square L11 a fifth subterranean course showed up in the profile. To the east it ran at a 10 degree angle off a perfect east-west, at the west end the wall curved into a 45 degree angle off. Although sections have been plundered and decayed, for the most part the wall has an even height. The wall most likely had a section of mud-brick on top of the courses one sees today (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 14).

Fig. 7. M11.2, viewed S.

Fig. 8. Space 2 and 3; part of squatter's settlement, viewed E.

Immediately south of the wall an enormous amount of pottery and several fireplaces were found, but hardly any structures apart from some scattered remains of mud-brick (see fig. 8). However, most of the material distribution was delineated by the probably older structures of the complex in its ruined state. That, combined with the material and type of fireplaces found, lead to the conclusion that the material was either deposited as refuse or remains of squatters living in the ruined city.

Especially the nature of the fireplaces speaks for the latter interpretation (see fig. 9). They consisted of a circle of stones around the fire itself, small pebbles or fieldstones were packed into this, and in some cases clay had been spread on top to serve as a baking surface. All were covered in layers of ash. This type of fireplace has stayed in use up till the present in parts of the world, and so cannot be used for chronological purposes, but they are typical of semi-nomadic or squatters-type settlements (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 17-20).

Fig. 9. Space 5; squatters fireplace, viewed SW.

There seems to have been at least two phases, and two habitation areas. One was situated along, or close to, wall M11.2. The other was nestled among the ruins of the gate, beyond the threshold. This last *house* continued partially into the baulk, partially underneath the other habitat, and so the extent of it is not known. Both areas had beaten earth floors, and it seems unlikely that they are directly connected to the floor L12.8.

Wedged in between wall L12.10 and wall M11.2 was a plaster floor, L12.8 (see fig. 10). There is some disagreement as to whether it is contemporary with, later, or even earlier than the ramp-building complex. A deep sounding showed several fire-destruction levels as well as garbage pits, but the chronology remains inconclusive. Cut into the floor were two pithoi pits that yielded some pottery material, but again the chronological relation is uncertain (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 17).

Fig. 10. Space 4; plaster floor, viewed W.

Fig. 11. Space 8; tower (in red), viewed NE.

In some areas we were able to remove and reach layers beneath the pottery deposits. At the west end of wall M11.2 in particular, two parallel walls, I13.8 and J13.7, smaller than the fortification wall but of the same technique and clearly joining it, was unearthed. It is possible that this formed some sort of tower structure on the fortification wall.

A more certain tower were the foundations (N11.7?) found at the north-west end of the ramp (see fig. 11). A well-laid square made up of semi-cut ashlars was uncovered there, which aligned with the ramp. This may have formed the connection point between the fortification wall M11.2 and the wall L12.7, running along the west side of the ramp.

The ramp M12.7 was a massive 13 x 3 metres of well laid partially cut ashlars, the stones being largest at both ends (see fig. 11). Some stones, most notably along the south-east side, had been quarried away. Almost no ceramic finds were made immediately on top of the ramp, but the entire structure was covered in a layer of ash and tile (see fig. 12). At the north end the ramp stops rather unceremoniously but a large conical stone with a socket hole in it was found to the side and may represent a pivot stone for a door or gate (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 16).

Fig. 12. Space 7; profile on top of ramp, viewed E.

The threshold M13.8 at the south end of the ramp consisted of a row of five massive ashlars (see fig. 13). A few on the east end were missing. This threshold lay on top even larger blocks, some of which were re-used from some other structure. On the west end of the threshold, cut into one of the stones, was a large square posthole probably used to secure a lock beam for a double door. The turn posts had most likely been placed in the stones which have been quarried away (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 28). Across the mid-section deep parallel rut marks about 1.5 metres apart were worn into the stones.

Fig. 13. Space 7; threshold, viewed NE.

Finally, beyond the threshold large pavement stones with pebbles and ceramic material filled in between formed a sort of road-extension (M13.7) of the ramp. This continued right into the baulk of L/M13 (see fig. 14). Some datable ceramic material was found directly on top of it. However, this road seems not to have been covered, as the tile-and-ash layer of the ramp did not extend here.

Fig. 14. Space 7; road (in red), viewed NE.

Fig. 15. Space 7; earlier ramp phase underneath quarried part of threshold.

The ramp apparently had several forerunners, some of which are clearly seen along the west side, where stones from the last phase have been quarried. They all follow the same angle and inclination of the latest but is of varying quality, material, and monumentality (see fig. 15). Plans for exposing them will hopefully show how these phases fit into and expand upon the chronology which will be sketched in this study. The same should also apply to the threshold, though this is less visible. Several of the largest stones used in the construction of the threshold were reused from another building. Again it is tempting to ask if not this too was a building on the acropolis.

Phases

In sector 3 one was able to distinguish between several construction and settlement phases. Only those relevant for this study are dealt with here, i.e. in the area south of wall M11.2. In this the strata as defined and named by Neidinger and Matthews (2008) will be followed, except that *phase* and a numeral will be used instead of stratum and a letter: so stratum M equals phase I; stratum Q = phase II; stratum T = phase III. Each locus, or more commonly context (which will be used here), was then assigned to one of the three phases.

LOCUS NUMBERS AND STRATA: BYLAZORA 2008		
PHASE I	PHASE II	PHASE III
I12.3	L13.2	I13.2
I12.6	L13.5	I13.3
I13.4	L13.7	I13.5
I13.8	L13.8	I13.7
I13.9		J13.2
J12.6 (?)		J13.4
J13.7		J13.5
L12.10		K12.2
L/M12.12 (?)		K13.3
L/M12.13 (?)		K13.4
L/M12.14 (?)		K13.5
M12.6		K13.6
M12.7		L12.2 (?)
M12.9		L12.3 (?)
M12.11		L12.4 (?)
M13.5 (=M12.7)		L12.5 (?)
M13.7		L12.8 (?)
M13.8		L12.9 (?)
N11.5		L13.3
N11.6		L13.4
N11.7		M12.3 (?)
N11.8		M12.5 (?)

Table 2. Context-phase relation; capital letter + number = context, and refers to the site grid.

The last major construction phase of the complex, phase I, makes up all the major structures already mentioned (M11.2, square tower, I13.8, J13.7, M12.7, M13.8, M13.7). These were mostly covered by silt. Ash layers covered the tower and ramp. Little material could be associated with the structures. As mentioned, a tile layer covered the ramp, a concentration of animal bones were found in front of the ramp, while most of the pottery found was related to the towers (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 13-17). The post-hole stone, pottery, and burnt bones at the end of the ramp found in the O11 sounding should all be assigned to this phase. Fortification wall M11.2 is included under this phase as it was believed by the excavators that the wall had originally been built this early. However, the stratigraphy is unclear and opens for different interpretations of chronology that will be discussed in chapter V.

The deep sounding made through phase III yielded the two tower walls I13.8 and J13.7. These appear to have been built in phase I as the walls were placed on the same sandy fill as that used to level the terrain for wall M11.2 (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 20). If so, the pottery found here will be invaluable for dating phase I.

The first squatters' settlement phase, phase II, clearly post-dates the complex as it lay over the road M13.7 leading from the threshold (see fig. 16). Most of the soil was clayish silt, which formed a series of hard packed earthen floors. Some sort of deteriorated clay wall was found close to the baulk, the waddle and daub found on top of M13.7 probably belonged to this, while the entire phase was covered by a thick destruction layer caused by fire (see fig. 16). A fireplace of the type already described was unearthed, along with large quantities of pottery, and a rare, intact stone mortarium (fig. 17) unique for this house at Bylazora (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 17, 18). The material was found very concentrated.

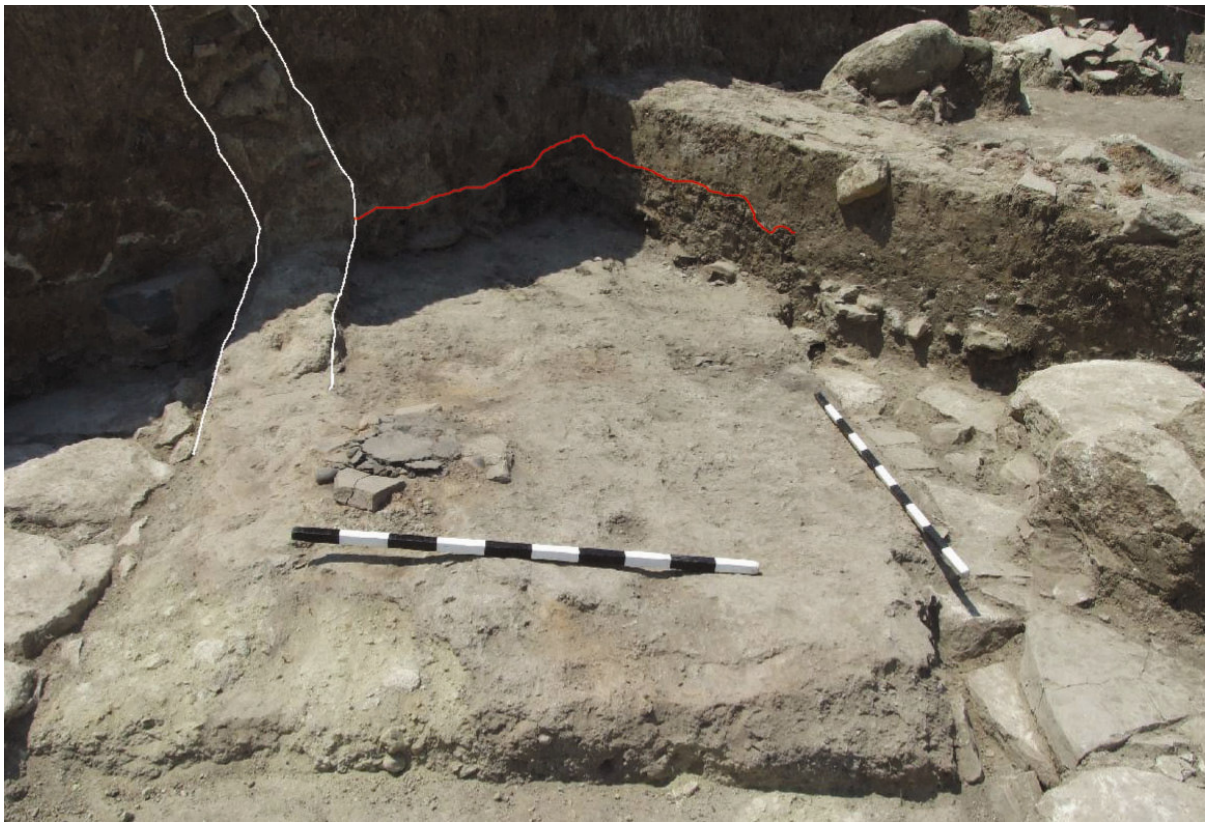


Fig. 16. Space 5; house with wall (in white) and destruction layer (in red), viewed SW.

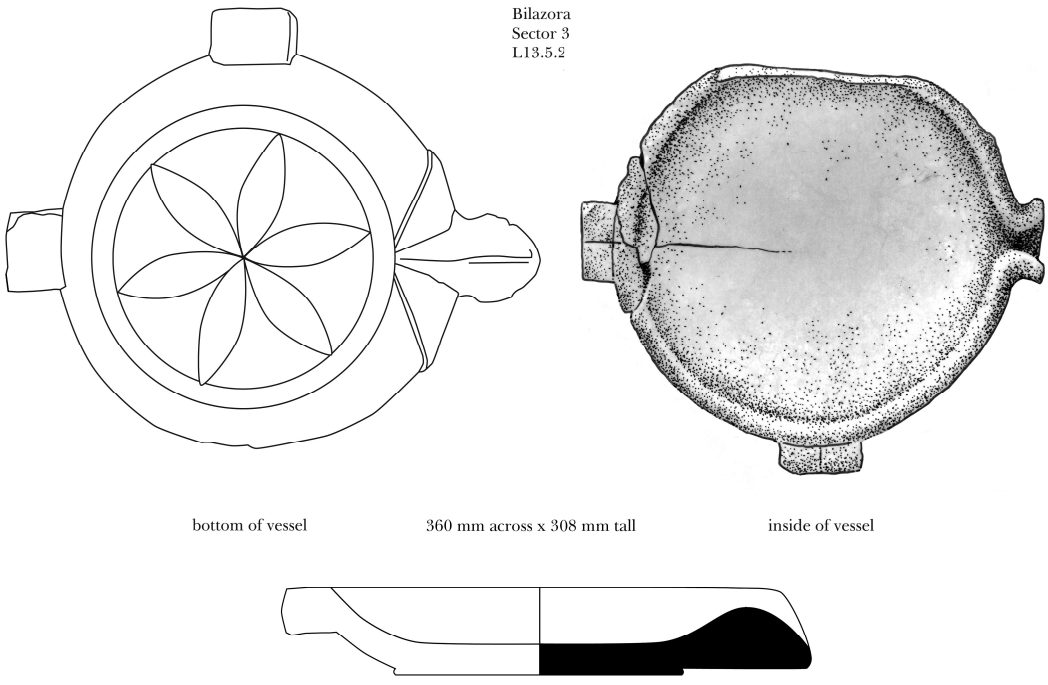


Fig. 17. A very rare type of stone mortarium found in space 5.

A second squatters' settlement phase, phase III, covered a much larger area. We were not able to uncover the vertical extent of it. It did however span at least 18 metres in length. Again the

contexts consisted mostly of multiple layers of hard packed earthen floors, similar to phase II. Apart from random patches of deteriorated burnt mud-brick, the only proven structure to serve as a wall in this phase of the settlement was M11.2. No lateral north-south walls for a space of at least 18 metres were found, but roof tiles were scattered all over the area.

This perplexing situation with lack of any other wall(s) remains unsolved. Vast amounts of pottery, two fireplaces, a large pithos, and a large round clay surface was unearthed. This last object was of an unknown function, but suggestions have been a table or baking surface (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 19, 20). Most of the pottery was found surrounding this clay surface. A layer of hardened mud, quite unlike any floor, was uncovered lapped up against the fireplace L13.3, and could suggest that the house (if such a structure it was) was open to the south. The answer to whether the area contained one or two buildings, multiple rooms, or just different work areas, will be facilitated by the interpretation of the material. The nature of these squatters' settlements and how long after or in between phases they existed are questions which will be returned to in chapter V.

Several areas and features were for different reasons not possible to assign to one of the phases above and for certain crucial structures it is unknown whether they belong to an earlier or later building phase or are contemporary with phase I. Most important among these are the jumbled ruins of two walls, L12.10 and M12.6 (see fig. 18) They run alongside each other, parallel to the ramp, with what might be an earlier phase of the ramp showing up in between. The later consists of a flat surface of small stones interspersed with ceramic remains, but the soil on top yielded nothing in terms of stratigraphy or material.

The walls are of a material and technique similar to M11.2, but the rocks were considerably larger at the foundations. These ran very deep. Even in the sounding made through L12.8 the number of courses used could not be determined. The ruined state of the walls was cause by quarrying at some undetermined time. Since neither the early ramp nor the walls yielded any material, they will not form part of the analysis itself, though the walls will be considered part of the ramp-building complex when discussing the implication of the activities on the complex as a whole.

Fig. 18. Space 6 (rock pile to the left); viewed NE.

In total 8 spaces were identified. All of the material was allocated to one of these on the basis of which context they belonged to. This was given in the database by the artefact number and further evaluated by using the available locus cards (i.e. description and drawing of each context). The locus cards distinguished between and described the contexts. Each was identified as a separate archaeological unit and then grouped together into spaces, or groups of contexts that collectively make up a spatial unit. The delineation of some spaces was determined by architectural structures. Phase I has the most clearly limited spaces with its numerous architectural remains. Phase II only consisted of one fairly small space. In phase III the south-west and central concentrations of pottery as spatial units were supported by the unearthed fireplaces.

To sum up the contexts were grouped into spaces like this:

Space	Contexts (Phase I)	Space	Contexts (Phase II)	Space	Contexts (Phase III)
	I12.3		L13.2		I13.2
	I12.6	House	L13.5	South-west	I13.3
	I13.4	(Space 5)	L13.7	area	I13.5
Wall-	I13.8		L13.8	(Space 2)	I13.7
tower	I13.9				
(Space 1)	J12.6 (?)				J13.2
	J13.7				J13.4
					J13.5
	L12.10			Central	K12.2
	L/M12.12			area	K13.3
Unknown	L/M12.13			(Space 3)	K13.4
(Space 6)	L/M12.14				K13.5
	M12.6				K13.6
					M12.3 (?)
	M12.7				M12.5 (?)
	M12.9				
Ramp-	M12.11				L12.2 (?)
building	M13.5				L12.3 (?)
(Space 7)	M13.7			Plaster	L12.4 (?)
	M13.8			area	L12.5 (?)
				(Space 4)	L12.8 (?)
	N11.5				L12.9 (?)
Ramp-	N11.6				L13.3
tower	N11.7				L13.4
(Space 8)	N11.8				

Table 3. Correspondence space - context.

When discussing the pottery deposits and the dating of phases, site topography and the geomorphologic history of it must be considered. Soil movement such as seen at Bylazora will carry material downwards from the acropolis and disturb contexts. How it affects the material will be returned to when discussing assemblage formation in chapter IV.

Apart from the areas belonging to unknown phases and the contexts above phase III, which was also disturbed by ploughing, the contexts south of the wall were more intact than to the north. After studying the vessels in more detail one or two sherds that were clearly out of context were filtered out. Such a *cleaning* was unfortunately not possible to apply to all of the material since a refined chronology for most of the ware, especially the coarse- and plain-ware, was not possible. Ideally one would have used only clean contexts without any residual, since this probably has a slight impact on the chronological distribution of material (Brandt 2004: 9). As of yet it is not possible to avoid this source of error. For the purpose of this study all of the contexts used will be considered as closed chronological units.

Chapter III: The archaeological finds: the pottery

The selection of material is restricted to the ceramic artefacts from the ramp-building complex, where sufficiently undisturbed contexts were uncovered. The material consisted mostly of fragmented ceramic vessels from the phases and spaces outlined in chapter II. Some other types of material were also taken into consideration, such as the distribution of roof tiles and animal bones. These will be dealt with as they become relevant for the analysis. Only diagnostic sherds will be considered, that be both for Paionian and local pottery and imported fine-wares, even if during excavation other criteria were used for keeping and register pottery finds. Furthermore, regardless of ware, for the present analysis only diagnostic sherds were counted.

Method of recording

There was initially no system for cataloguing individual artefacts at the excavation. Therefore each artefact was first assigned an ascending number as a last digit in their respective basket number, e.g. B-S3-L11.2.1.1 (Bylazora, sector 3, trench L11, stratum 2, first basket, first artefact). These served as artefact numbers. Each artefact catalogued was assigned a vessel shape, decoration and fabric description, and based on this a rough provenance and date could be determined by cross-referring to examples available from other sites.

The lack of access to a *Munsell Soil Color Charts* did not allow for the preferred level of standardization of fabric colour description, instead one had to make do with conventional, though fairly subjectively applied, colour terminology. The most important diagnostic sherds were drawn and some also photographed. Unfortunately few vessels were complete enough to allow for a reconstruction drawing to be made. To illustrate shapes and types in the catalogue that lacked illustration or photography, drawings from the *Agora* publications have been used for the Greek and some grey-ware material, while illustrations from Vardarski Rid has been used for Paionian and local shapes. Only examples that corresponded to the types in our contexts have been used. As part of the work in progress, one of the plans for the future is to do a more complete documenting of the material.

Provenance could not always be determined through firsthand analysis. All of the vessels recorded as not imported but by Greek names in the lists from the initial pottery reading, were assumed to be Hellenized Paionian grey-ware. Non-Greek names, as well as all the cooking, storage, and larger vessels, were taken to be coarse- or plain-ware. The provenance of grey-ware was not considered an important factor to ascertain for the present

study. All of the coarse- and plain-ware were assumed to be local, i.e. from a workshop related to the site.

The non-imported pottery, fine-, common-, and coarse-ware, were all recorded solely by the baskets in which they belonged. A number of vessels were taken out after the initial rough reading of shape, origin and date, for further study due to their uniqueness, decoration or our ability to assign a more precise date to them based on typology. These were drawn and photographed as well.

The data collected was entered into a Microsoft Access database, which allowed for statistics to be run. The same database will later allow for new finds to be easily entered. The finds' catalogue number refers to this database and will be used throughout.

The pottery can be divided into 4 groups depending on their origin of production:

1. Imported fine-ware
2. Paionian fine-ware
3. Paionian grey-ware
4. Local coarse- and plain- ware

As they follow their own typology and shared characteristics, each group will be described separately first.

The imported fine-ware

All in all, this category was made up of Attic Black Glaze. No complete vessels were found, and few exact matches were identified from known contexts such as in Athens or other places which have yielded deposits of Attic Black Glaze. It is possible that Athenian potters adapted their shapes to Paionian tastes. There are examples of Athenian workshops adapting to an Etruscan market, though there it was a case of adopting Etruscan shapes to Attic pottery sold in Etruria (Sparks 1996: 162 + fig. VI 19). The shapes unique to Bylazora could possibly be a similar adaptation to local taste. This is made all the more likely if one accepts that Athenian potters may have been resident in Paionia.

The most common shape among Greek imports found in Paionian contexts is the skyphos. Next come lekythoi, hydriai, and lekanides. At Bylazora on the other hand, bolsals and kylix-like cups are the most common shapes. Skyphoi are restricted to a few classical examples (St. Valentin type), and only two sherds are possibly from lekythoi. There are two sides to this deviancy from the norm. Since lekythoi were mostly used as containers of luxurious perfume or oil or in funeral settings, contexts of which none occur in sector 3, few

of these vessels are expected. Secondly there seems to be a strong presence of local and Paionian pottery production at Bylazora, and it is possible that this supplanted certain imported shapes. Unfortunately, only a dozen sherds of imported fine-ware could be assigned with any certainty to the relevant contexts.

A final remark on chronology: finds made in the Athenian Agora have been heavily relied upon, both due to its mix of domestic and public settings and the well-established chronology. This chronology needs to be used with caution at other places, as it is established for the contexts at the Agora of Athens and no two sites are identical (*Agora* XII: 2). In other words the present catalogue is highly susceptible for modification, especially as regards dating. The development of Attic black glaze fixed in time can be sketched like this (based on Thompson 1934: 440, and *Agora* XXIX: 11):

5th century: thin, matt but smooth
4th century: thicker glossy, lustrous black becomes rarer in succeeding centuries (only 15% after 250)
End 4th century: thinner, metallic sheen (c. 50% after 250)
Late 3rd – early 2nd century: very thin, blotchy and flaky

These are only tendencies. The different finishes on the Attic glaze resulted from different firing, not from different glaze components. Overlapping, regional and workshop differences, as well as misfiring, contribute to make the use of the above as sole criteria for dating highly dubious.

One does not have as firm a grasp on the chronology of Greek imports found in Paionia as elsewhere. The lack of contexts to make cross-references to, the limited variety of contexts (most examples come from burials), and our failing to understand Greek-Paionian relationship in terms other than one of core-periphery, all play a part.

This opens for questions concerning the lifespan of especially the imported fine-ware. It is a fairly straightforward matter to assess the beginning and end of the importation of types simply by comparing occurrences in the archaeological record in both Greece and Paionia. Obviously Paionians could not have started importing e.g. Attic types before they were in production in Attic workshops, but they could have used them longer, perhaps decades or generations after the Athenians themselves had stopped using or deposited them. Unfortunately, the lack of datable contexts makes the end-period blurry. Were the vessels in

use longer than in Greece before they were deposited? Was the lifespan the same as in other non-Greek societies where Greek pottery was utilized? These are questions in need of being solved before the better understood Greek chronology can make its full contribution to the chronologies of Paionian archaeology.

If these questions are to be given an answer to, the shortcomings outlined above must be overcome through a widening of the archaeological search to encompass Paionian settlements, a refocusing of research to other spheres of society than the funerary, and a new approach to the archaeological evidences of Greek-Paionian relations.

Paionian fine-ware

The Paionians attempted to imitate Greek Black Glaze with varying success. Few examples of this group were found at Bylazora. A stronger tradition among Paionian potters was matt red-painted pottery. In the late 6th or early 5th century the production of wheel-thrown buff-ware started. First, with simple alternating reserved and red-painted bands reminiscent of Ionian Cups, later with more elaborate decorations. Designs were taken from Greek Red-Figure and applied to Greek shapes.

A rare type found at Bylazora was the red painted floral-decorated skyphos. The few examples found all belonged to phase II and are necessary to discuss in detail, as they play a crucial part in establishing phase chronology. In doing so I shall argue that the Greek influence evident in these vessels can be used for chronological purposes. The use of comparative anthropological evidence for the longevity of pottery is quite widespread in archaeology dealing with pre-historical periods (e.g. David 1972, Deboer 1974). Its viability in Classical archaeology, where the many historical factors play a part and no equivalent society for comparison now exists, is not assured. The ever changing political climate resulted in change of contact, which again led to a constant change in pottery. This is again and again attested to, by e.g. the Paionians adopting Greek shapes after direct contact was establish in the 6th century.

Grey-ware

This Paionian ware is by far the largest and most common group of pottery at Bylazora, where it supersedes in numbers even coarse-ware. The frequency is not unique to Bylazora, since the ware is found on all sites, from the middle and upper flow of the Vardar to the northern borders of FYROM (Petrova 1999. 61), or in short all over the Paionia. In fact this pottery is found even farther north in FYROM, as well as in Southern Serbia and Kosovo. This could indicate that it is not an exclusively Paionian ware (Petrova 1999: 70). Southern

Serbia and Kosovo are territories traditionally Dardanian, the northern and often hostile neighbours of the Paionians. The pottery type forms a distinctive group both in terms of clay, technique, shape, and decoration, and are more common in the Paionian heartland, rarer south of Demir Kapija (Sokolovska 1993: 147). A systematic, large-scale cross-cultural study is needed.

The whole pottery group displays very little typological development. No production centres have been identified, though pottery workshops have allegedly been located (Sokolovska 1986: 157). All of the vessels belonging to this group are wheel-made. The clay is usually grey or more rarely brown. The surface can often have a smoothed, almost polished finish (Sokolovska 1986: 155). Quite often the vessels of especially the Hellenistic period have an added slip in more or less the same colour as the clay, or are occasionally burnished (Sokolovska 1993: 148). There's not much in the way of decorative designs other than basic geometric patterns, such as grooved or incised lines, zigzag patterns, etc.

The grey-ware can be divided into two subgroups. One is a continuation of the traditions and shapes of the late bronze and early Iron Age. The shapes in which this continuation is most evident are plates with horizontally flat edge, bowls with vertical handles, cups with tall conical foot, and small poppy shaped chalices (Sokolovska 1993: 147).

From as early as the 6th century the Paionians followed the trend of many workshops in the central Balkan (Vasić 2002: 117) and adopted Greek shapes. Towards the middle of the 4th century the production of this group diminishes, almost disappearing, before re-emerging later in the Hellenistic period, now with new shapes and techniques (Sokolovska 1993: 147). The names used by modern scholars on Greek shapes are used here as well. What nomenclature the Paionians utilized is unknown.

By the time of the late 5th and early 4th century, the earliest phases evident at the ramp-building complex, the shapes are restricted to the most common, sturdy Greek shapes: kantharoi (of the Hellenistic shapes (see *Agora* XXIX)), skyphoi of the Attic form, bolsals, echinoi, oinochoai, and hydriai, as well as a range of unspecified table-ware shapes and storage vessel, which is comparable to most sites (Sokolovska 1986: 155).

In order to improve the chronology of Paionian grey-ware its typology has been comparedto the better understood Greek typologies. Even if the chronology is not the same, it was deemed possible to use the same principles of development and, more importantly, to observe if the grey-ware follow the same relative chronology as the Greek. This will especially be applied to

the Paionian adaptation of the Attic skyphos, as outlined under the entry on Paionian fine-ware.

The shapes adopted by the Paionians were the most common Greek shapes, with minimum change of shape over time. The question is whether it is viable to use Greek forms as a terminus ante/ post quem for grey-ware shapes. The very general changes seen in shape and decoration necessitate the study of complete, or close to complete vessels. In light of this it is paramount to decide the chronology of Greek vessels in Paionian contexts.

Based on surface finds preliminary research enabled us to determine not only that the site was a Paionian settlement occupied between the 7th and the 2nd century, but also to observe a gradual Hellenization of the material culture, and that this merged with local pottery traditions (Sokolovska 1986: 156).

Coarse- and plain-ware

The developments which can be traced show that by the end of the 6th century even the hand-made pottery belongs to a regionally definable *Paionian* group, both in its typological relationship and in the quality and contents of clay (Sokolovska 1991: 181). Most numerous are the common kitchen-ware pots, sometimes also used as cremation urns. They are often large, with wide openings and simply finished rims. Later emerge more and more bowls. All sites in FYROM give such a picture, attesting to an at least material cultural unity, as the pottery is distinguishable from this point on from other regions on the Balkan.

However, the most prominent features are commonly found on pottery in the wider Thracian-Illyrian-Paionian area, and stretches back to the early Iron Age (Sokolovska 1986: 155). The pottery is extremely coarse containing a lot of quartz. Hand-made is more common than wheel-thrown. Decoration, when such exists, consists of relief rings with finger impressions, diagonal notches along the rim, or nipples. The most important typological diagnostic element is the handle. Typical handles are tongue or horseshoe shaped. A development from a down-turned U to a Ω can be traced in the later. These are functional vessels above all, exhibiting few morphological changes over time.

Shapes and typology are carried over into plain- and table-ware. This category has a finer fabric but often untreated surface, which may lead to a soapy quality. These vessels are often poorly fired.

Organizing the catalogue

The above grouping of vessels was used for dating purposes only. The following catalogue is in accordance with the functional categories used in the analysis. The vessels are now grouped according to their technofunction only. Unfortunately I did not have a hand in defining or determining most of the different types of non-fine-ware and I am therefore dependent on works done by others. Metric parameters specifically for this study could not be applied to the material and one had to rely on rather scanty documentation. This sometimes meant that one had to assume that the shape and technofunction reflected by the name given by the person responsible for pottery identification was correct. This was the case for storage vessels such as jars, and pots, and some bowls. Even more unfortunate is it that this could not be remedied by photographs or drawings, since such data were not extant for these vessels. A system of documentation more suited for use in a functional analysis will hopefully be installed from next season onwards.

As a result, instead of using metric shape parameters to determine catalogue allocation, one had to rely on the following parameters for functional categorization:

1. Shape: in most cases based on a familiarity of a given shape from other sites. This can be subdivided into sub-types for chronological purposes. These are handled collectively under each heading as they were either broadly contemporary, or could not be dated.
2. Clay: the quality of the clay, e.g. coarse with inclusions or purified clay.
3. Surface treatment: e.g. if the inside has been polished, smoothed, burnished etc., or in the case of plainer and finer ware, if the inside and outside has been polished, smoothed, burnished, or glazed. Inside treatment is most telling of function as it is used to reduce evaporation.

Using these parameters the ceramics were divided into 6 functional categories: vases used for storage and transport (A); vases used for cooking (B); vases used in the preparation of food and drink (C); vases used for serving (D); vases used for eating and drinking (E); objects used for spinning and weaving (F).

Each of these categories was formed so as to reflect the most logical separation of activities. Based on categories employed by Brandt (2004), they were formed according to which activities were most likely to have occurred in our spaces. They were also adjusted to incorporate all of the material and thereby those activities represented by it.

Transport and storage make up one category (A). The two overlap unseen in the material as vessels used for transport quite often take on the role as storage containers before or after their designed role. Category B was separated from C in order to distinguish between activities connected to a fireplace and those not. Categories D and E form two different groups because both could also occur in settings outside of the household, such as a ritual, in which case one would not necessarily imply the other. Category F is the only category which considers household activities beyond those connected to food and drink. The material did not bear evidence to any other.

Category A

Vases used for storage and transport, i.e. containers used for the conservation of food or liquids, such as wine and oil, either movable or immobile. Shapes include amphorae, pithoi, and storage vessels (i.e. flat-bottomed containers with lid or a narrow mouth, smaller than pithoi). Clay is coarse to some purified, with some inclusion. Surface is smoothed, has a slip, or both.

Amphorae

Shape: Only three types could be identified at Bylazora. (1) Flat-bottomed Macedonian type (cf. Fowler & Blazevska 1996: art. P18.13.3, L21.4.7).

(2) Common Greek solid pointed base type (cf. Fowler & Blazevska 1996: art. L22.3.3, OP19/19.2.1).

(3) Paionian type similar to Greek, but of grey-ware.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 33, 38, 46, 51, 53, 66; Space 6: cat. 175, 179, 196, 200; Space 7: cat. 299, 301; Space 8: cat. 304, 310, 311, 312 - Total: 16

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 242, 252, 255, 262, 269, 274 - Total: 6

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 8, 14, 16, 24, 26, 29, 64; Space 3: cat. 69, 75, 76, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 102, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 134, 138, 140, 142, 143, 144, 149, 156, 157; Space 4: cat. 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 215, 218, 222, 322 - Total: 46

Overall total: 68

Date: All types were in production throughout the 5th to the 2nd century.

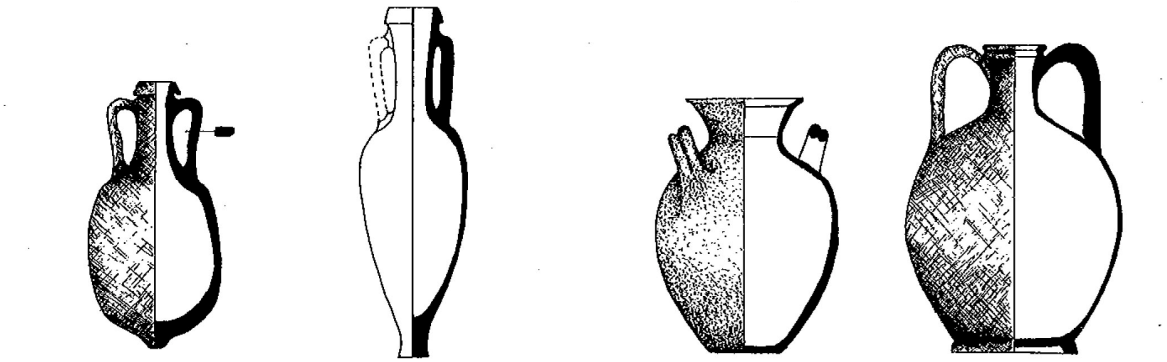


Fig. 19. Example of amphora type 1 and 2, found at Vardarski Rid.

Storage vessels (jars)

Shape: Vessels in this loosely defined group is characterized by a single-curved body, and two horizontally looped handles (cf. Husenovski & Slamkov (2005): cat. 244, Fowler (1995): art. M23.2.1-D).

Handmade type: cat. 125 and 146.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 54; Space 6: cat. 176, 181, 197; Space 8: cat. 303, 309, 313, 315 - Total: 8

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 238, 239, 257, 260, 289, 292 - Total: 6

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 5, 13; Space 3: cat. 79, 94, 110, 125, 146, 136 - Total: 8

Overall total: 22

Date: Unknown.

Pithoi

Shape: Two types were extant: (1) a common type with flat flaring rim (which was the only part preserved apart from body fragments), and (2) a similar Classical type. Cat. 266 had a rope decoration just below the rim, a not uncommon feature on Paionian pithoi. It was however not possible to locate a single published pithos from a Paionian site.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 42; Space 7: cat. 297 - Total: 2

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 266 - Total: 1

Phase III: Space 3: cat. 71, 105, 116, 133, 141, 152, 359; Space 4: cat. 206, 316, 325 - Total: 10

Overall total: 13

Date: Pithoi were in use throughout all of the phases.

Category B

Vases used for cooking, i.e. vessels used in an early phase in the treatment of food. Shapes include all of the cooking vessels, lids, and Pyranoi. Clay is very coarse, with much inclusion. No surface treatment beyond a rough smoothing.

Cooking pots

Shape: Typically these vessels had a bulbous body, two horizontally looped handles, wide mouth, and a sharply outturned rim to allow a lid to be placed on top (cf. Fowler (1995): art. LMN19.3.1 has upturned handles on the shoulder, MN18.3.2 has handles attached to the body and is deeper and rounder, and belongs to the 3rd- 2nd century (Fowler & Blazevska 1996: 26)).

An important Paionian type is the tongue-handled version of the above (cf. possibly Sokolovska (1991): pl. III, fig. 9, a handmade version which is similar to the wheel-made type found a Bylazora).

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 6: cat. 189, 190, 195, 202 - Total: 4

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 236, 237, 254 - Total: 3

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 11; Space 3: cat. 89, 92, 131 - Total: 4

Overall total: 11

Date: Unknown.

Lids:

Shape: Most were of a plain type such as were found at Vardarski Rid (cf. Fowler & Blazevska (1996): art. N20/21.5.6A, MN18.1.7B). These are conical, and with a bulbous knob on top.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 45 - Total: 1

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 243, 251 - Total: 2

Phase III: Space 3: cat. 109 - Total: 1

Overall total: 4

Date: Unknown.

Pyranoi: coarse

Shape: A wholly Paionian shape, the pyranos was a cooking vessel which could be placed directly in the fire (see fig. 19). Cat. 21 and 220 are handmade and with a tongue-handle. All pyranoi have horizontal ledges set at an oblique downwards angle with which to rest on a stand inside the fireplace (cf. Sokolovska (1986) #3, pl. 9, dated to somewhere in the 5th and 4th century (Sokolovska 1986: 160), and Sokolovska (1991) # 1, pl.2. These two have horseshoe-handle, and so are not of quite the same type as ours, but they still allow for a rough placement within the same period, as they co-existed and neither developed much). The pyranos shape itself lasted from the late Paionian Iron Age well into the Hellenistic era.

Distribution:

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 21; Space 4: cat. 222 - Total: 2

Overall total: 2

Date: End of 7th – 2nd

Fig. 20. Example of pyranos (cat. 21), shown in ca. 1:4.

Category C

Vases used in the preparation of food and drink, i.e. containers used in a later phase in the treatment of food. Shapes include hydriai, kalpidai, kalpeis, kraters, and miscellaneous pots (i.e. similar shape to jars but smaller, with wider open mouth). Clay is somewhat purified, with some inclusion, except the Attic which is very pure. Surface is treated with smoothing, slip, burnishing, or glaze in the case of the Attic.

Hydriai:

Shape: This grey-ware imitation of the Greek form was common at Bylazora, and part of a tradition older than grey-ware (cf. Sokolovska (1986) # 1, pl. 58, cf. *Agora* XII cat. 1532: closeness of handle to rim is very similar, though the Agora hydria is a matt painted example from the mid- 5th century).

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 34, 39, 47, 50, 61, 67; Space 6: cat. 173, 182, 183, 186, 188, 191, 193, 204; Space 7: cat. 294; Space 8: cat. 305 - Total 16

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 245, 258, 263, 290 - Total: 4

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 23, 28, 63; Space 3: cat. 100, 101, 113, 132; Space 4: cat. 221, 318, 324 - Total: 10

Overall total: 30

Date: 4th – 2nd

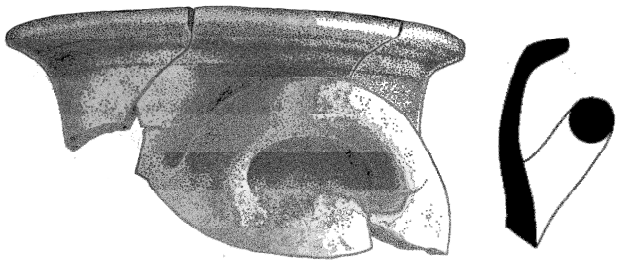


Fig. 21. Example of grey-ware hydria (cat. 318), shown in ca. 1:4.

Kalpidai:

Shape: Quite a few were found but no drawings were available. These were of generally Greek shape, but poorer quality.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 44 - Total: 1

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 248, 267, 278, 281, 282, 291 - Total: 6

Phase III: Space 3: cat. 73, 128 - Total: 2

Overall total: 9

Date: 4th- 2nd

Kalpeis:

Shape: Only a single vessel came from our spaces. It did not allow for a reconstruction but seems to be of generally Greek shape, but poorer quality.

Distribution:

Phase III: Space 3: cat. 78 - Total: 1

Overall total: 1

Date: 4th- 2nd

Kraters:

Shape: Attic Red-Figure: the straightness and thickness of cat. 344 suggest a krater, but nothing beyond that. The small part of red-figure showing is of a piece furniture, which shape and lack of ornamentation probably means it's the leg of a kliné or table, usually featured in symposia (e.g. Richter 1936: cat. 53, pl. 53, Boardman 1989: fig. 153).

Local type: Outturned lip type (cf. Husenovski & Slamkov (2005): cat. 134).

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 344 - Total: 1

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 272 - Total: 1

Overall total: 2

Date: Attic: 5th?, local: unknown

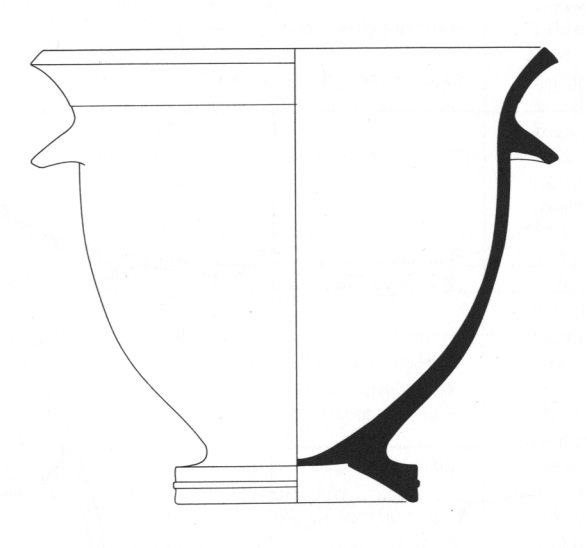


Fig. 22. Example of Greek type krater, from the Athenian Agora, shown in ca. 1:5.

Pots

Shape: 4 distinct types, besides the plain version were produced locally: (1) Relief moulded with vertical ribs on the body (cf. possibly Mitrevski & Temov (1996-97): pl. VIII, fig. 8).

(2) Verticle handles (cf. Mitrevski & Temov (1996-97). Pl. IIIa, fig. 4).

(3) Biconical body with vertical handles. No published examples were located for cross-reference.

(4) Small handmade (cf. Sokolovska (1991): pl. III, fig. 8, pl. IV, fig. 6).

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 6: cat. 187 - Total: 1

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 231, 233, 235, 244 - Total: 4

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 20; Space 3: cat. 153 - Total: 2

Overall total: 7

Date: Unknown.

Category D

Vases used for serving, i.e. containers used in one phase in the consumption of food and drink. Shapes include bowls, hitra, jugs, juglets, oinochoai, and olpai. Clay is purified, with little inclusion, except the Attic which is very pure. Surface is treated with smoothing, slip, burnishing, or glaze in the case of the Attic.

Bowls:

Shape: One imported and two broad types could be identified. (1) Small Attic type: the shape of base ring as well as the slight angular inside sloping marks it as the same class as Rotroff's *Broad base* (cf. *Agora* XXIX: no. 1059, fig. 65. Ours is of a different glaze, and has a ring-and-dot decoration underneath). These bowls were in production most of the 4th and until c. mid-3rd century, with little change of shape.

(2) Grooved tongue-handle type: A couple of vessels with handles of this type were found at the site. The grooving of the handles might have been purely decorative or as a means to suspend the bowl. It has not been possible to locate a single sherd for cross-reference with the ones from Bylazora.

(3) Deep biconical type: Though not from one of our contexts the best preserved example of deep bowls with biconical body is an example from K12.1 (fig. 20). With a squat body and two vertical handles, this typical shape is similar to other kantharoid vessels found at Bylazora, and kantharoi from Paionian (cf. Fowler (1995): art. LMN19.18.1).

Some of the vessels belonging to the category could easily have functioned as cups.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 32, 36, 40, 41, 43, 52, 60; Space 6: cat. 180, 185, 192; Space 7: cat. 302; Space 8: cat. 307, 314, 343 - Total: 14

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 249, 261, 264, 271, 276, 279, 285 - Total: 7

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 3, 15, 22, 65; Space 3: cat. 70, 124, 129, 130, 139, 145, 147, 155; Space 4: cat. 224, 319, 320 - Total: 15

Overall total: 36

Date: Attic: 300-275, grooved handle: unknown, biconical: 4^{th}-2^{nd}

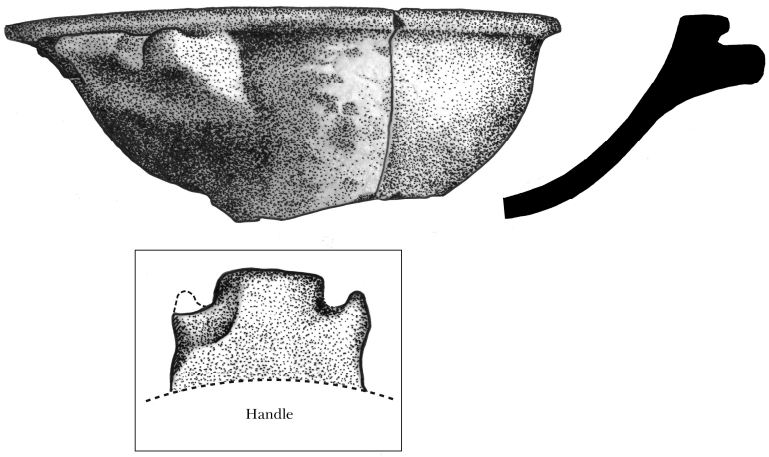


Fig. 23. Example of grooved tongue-handle type bowl (cat. 22), shown in ca. 1:3.

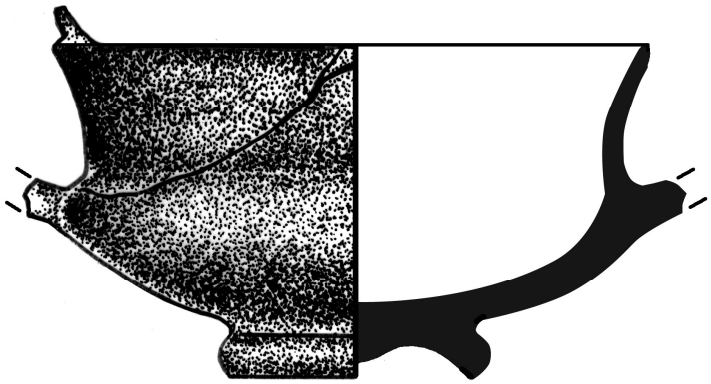


Fig. 24. Example of biconical bowl, shown in ca. 1:2.

Hitrai:

Shape: The word denotes a jug similar to an olpe. Cat. 68 and 90 have a very bulbous body and no base (cf. Husenovski & Slamkov (2005): cat. 141).

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 68 - Total: 1

Phase III: Space 3: cat. 90 - Total: 1

Overall total: 2

Date: $4^{th} – 2^{nd}$

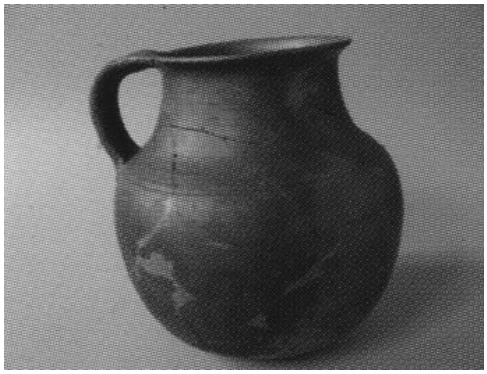


Fig. 25. Example of hitra, found at Vardarski Rid, shown in ca. 1:3.

Jugs:

Shape: Typically jugs had a single curved body, an outturned lip, and a single handle attached to below the lip and on the body, wheel thrown but simple, with or without a base-ring (cf. Husenovski & Slamkov (2005): cat. 140, Fowler (1995): art. K20.5.1, and M20.5.2).

Cat. 104, denoted as a juglet, was simply a miniature version of the full sized.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 31, 55, 57, 58 - Total: 4

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 246, 250 - Total: 2

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 1; Space 3: cat. 99; Space 4: cat. 213, 323 - Total: 4

Overall total: 10

Date: Unknown

Oinochoai:

Shape: Nipple type (fig. 21): The Greek shape has added Paionian style decoration in the form of nipples which are very common on local coarse-ware and a continuation from the Iron Age. The high curved body, nipples and grooves are indicative of its date (cf. Sokolovska (1993): fig. 9, same shape but lack decorative features).

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 6: cat. 199; Space 8: cat. 308 - Total: 2

Phase II: Space 5: 241, 270 - Total: 2

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 17, 18, 27; Space 3: cat. 72, 106, 107, 108, 115, 135; Space 4: cat. 214, 226, 326, 321 - Total: 13

Overall total: 17

Date: Late 4^{th} – 3^{rd}

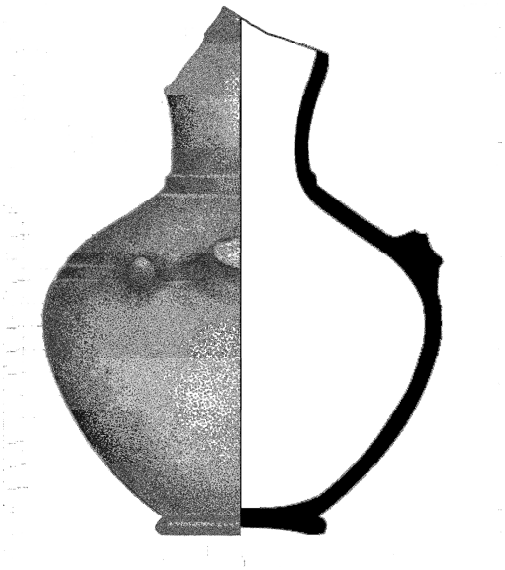


Fig. 26. Example of Nipple type oinochoe, shown in in ca. 1:5.

Olpai:

Shape: Spoutless type: from phase III, an unknown context, this is again one of the best preserved examples (fig. 22). An inconspicuous shape, it has a continuous curve, simple base, simple opening and no spout (cf. Fowler (1995): art. M20.5.2 is similar but without a base).

Distribution:

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 137 - Total: 1

Overall total: 1

Date: 4^{th} – 2^{nd}

Fig. 27. Example of spoutless type olpe, shown in ca. 1:3.

Category E

Vases used for eating and drinking, objects used in another phase in the consumption of food and drink. Shapes include all cup forms, dishes, echinoi, plates, and saltcellars. Clay is purified to very purified in the case of the Attic, with little to no inclusion. Surface is treated with smoothing, slip, burnishing, or glazed in the case of the Attic.

Cups:

Shape: Within this miscellaneous group belong a few closely similar shapes. Common for all are a very simple, plain looking design, and fairly small dimensions. They have one or two vertical handles and no lip or rim.

Handmade type (cf. Husenovski & Slamkov (2005): cat. 143).

Distribution:

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 2, 7, 9; Space 3: cat. 77, 126 - Total: 5

Overall total: 5

Date: Unknown

Dishes/ plates:

Shape: Painted type: cat. 234 (fig. 23). This has a rather large dark reddish brown reserved palmetto design painted on. It is of the same design as the skyphos cat. 227/229 (cf. Mikulcic (2003) cat. 43-51: the design displays a similar drawing of reserved palmetto). These are Paionian imitations of Greek Black Glaze decorated pottery with similar patterns, which are numerous in Paionian contexts (Sokolovska 1986: # 6, pl. 5, # 4-6, pl. 59, Mikulcic 2003: cat. 30-IV, 34-51, 19-51). The style is contemporaneous with the so-called F.B. Group of Red-Figure also very common in Paionian contexts (Sokolovska 1986: # 1, 2, 4, 5, pl. 5, Mikulcic 2003: cat. 41-IV, 52-IV, Mitrevski 1997: # 1, 2, pl. IIIb). The group has very sloppy-handed draughtsmanship and poorly defined outlining. Both the trend of decorating the body with overly sized palmettos and the B.F. Group are most common on oinochoai and skyphoi, of the same Attic type A as the floral decorated Paionian, and are dated to around mid-4th century in the Agora contexts (*Agora* XXX: 131, cat. 82, 1301-1304). They are usually dated to the second half of the 4th century in Paionian contexts (Mitrevski 1997: 156).

Plain type: cat. 83. The small stemmed plain-ware dish was a rare shape at Bylazora (cf. *Agora* XII cat. 958-983, pointing to our example being one of a plain-ware version of a

shape more similar to Greek examples than any other Paionian dish located). The Greek dishes quoted display wholly different diagnostic features, such as the overhanging lip, and depth. Their chronology of the 5th and 4th century is therefore not applicable to the Paionian version. Several other plates were found, shallow, deep, and handmade. None were intact.

Handmade type: this type typically has no base.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 59; Space 6: cat. 177, 203; Space 7: cat. 298; Space 8: cat. 306 - Total:5

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 234, 253, 268, 273, 283, 284, 287 - Total: 7

Phase III: Space 3: cat. 83; Space 4: cat. 216, 219 - Total: 3

Overall total: 15

Date: Painted: 375-325, plain/ handmade: unknown

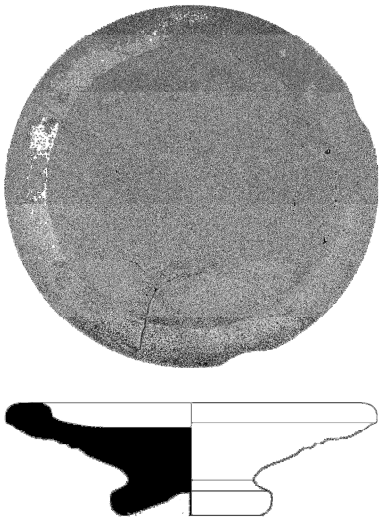


Fig. 28. Example of plain type dish (cat. 83), shown in ca. 1:3.

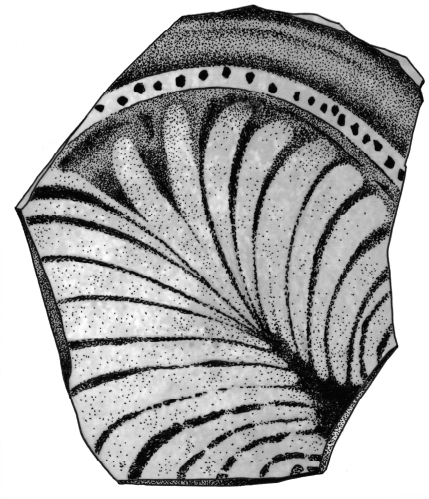


Fig. 29. Fragment of palmetto plate.

Echinoi:

Shape: Often simply referred to as a small bowl, or even saltcellars, the echinos is indeed a common and somewhat undistinguished form.

Greek type: the Greek shape is defined by the thickened rounded incurved rim. It may have had 5th century forerunners, but is essentially a 4th century invention (*Agora* XII: 131-2: Incurved rim bowls). Development is not evolutionary straightforward, and rests on too few criteria to give a convincing typology. Shape lasts well into Hellenistic period. Cat. 331 is much the same type as cat. 336, but with a thinner wall, more rounded profile and groove higher up. Less metallic, lustrous black glaze points to an earlier date (cf. shape with Rotroff & Oakley 1992: nos. 231-2, fig. 15).

Cat. 336. As for reasons mentioned for cat. 331, it should be of a slightly later date (cf. shape w/ Rotroff & Oakley 1992: nos. 231-2, fig. 15). Apparently the deeper, more angular curved shape, as both these profiles display, indicate we're dealing with a form that does not go back before the mid-4th century (*Agora* XII: 132). They are both reminiscent of shapes given in *Agora* XXIX (fig. 63), belonging to the 1st half of 3rd, of which all of those with a metallic glaze is dated to c. 300. The thickness of the rim is more similar to smaller saltcellars (e.g. *Agora* XXIX: no. 1079, 1080, fig. 65), also belonging to around 300.

Paionian inturned-lip type: Echinoi with the typical inturned lip were especially abundant in stratum Q and T (cf. Mikulcic (2003) cat. 74-IV, and Fowler & Blazevska (1996): art. N21.3.1E).

Paionian outturned-lip type was less common (see fig. 30).

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 30, 37, 48, 62, 331, 336; Space 6: cat. 174; Space 7: cat. 296, 300 - Total: 9

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 232, 240, 259, 265, 277, 288 - Total: 6

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 4, 6, 10, 19; Space 3: cat. 74, 80, 88, 91, 104, 111, 112, 127, 154; Space 4: cat. 208, 225, 317 - Total: 16

Overall total: 31

Date: Attic: c. 300, Paionian and local: 4th – 2nd

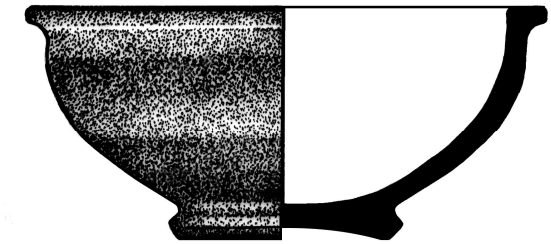


Fig. 30. Example of Paionian type echinos with outturned lip (cat. 208), shown in ca. 1:2.

Kantharoi:

Shape: The few examples from our contexts were most typically lower and broader in body than most Greek, with a short or no stem. These are very similar to the biconical bowls discussed above.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 6: cat. 201 - Total: 1

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 275 - Total: 1

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 12; Space 3: cat. 81, 114; Space 4: cat. 217 - Total: 4

Overall total: 6

Date: 4th- 2nd

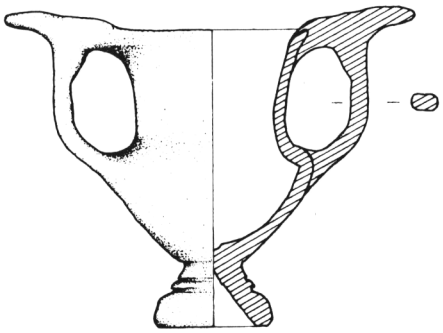


Fig. 31. Example of grey-ware type kantharos, earlier find from Bylazora, shown in ca. 1:3.

Kylikes/ Lip-cups:

Shape: General for the all-black cup is that the kylix is a 6th-century invention, with a gradual increase in popularity towards 480, after which it is limited to a few classes. Stemless forms take over after 480, declines after the early 4th century, to be replaced in popularity by kantharoid vessels (*Agora* XII: 88, 98). The sherds dealt with here are certainly from among the classes given by Sparkes in *Agora* XII, but as so few bases were found (often the only

feature to distinguish one class from another), they can not with certainty be said to belong to one or the other. Common for all is the outturned lip, inset from lower body only on the outside, marked with a shallow or deep groove, and an orientation which indicates a deep rather than shallow form. This last feature is more common with stemless cups, so that in combination with the total lack of stemmed bases among the finds and the presences of stemless ones, it is reasonable to assume classes of stemless cup for most of the sherds. Furthermore, if the base is indicative of the shape for the rim sherds, we are dealing with the Rheneia cup. The general development of this class shows that the lip and rim becomes plainer but more outturned, the inset less pronounced towards the end of the period (*Agora* XII: 98).

Inset lip type: Cat. 360 is banded, and should therefore be closer to the beginning of the period (cf. Rotroff & Oakley 1992: nos. 161, 162, fig. 9).

Stemless Rheneia bases: Cf. *Agora* XII: nos. 456, 460, fig. 5.

Miscellaneous cup-handles: Little can be said of this and other similar fragments found at the site typologically, other than that they are all of thin, looped type usual on 5th and 4th century cups. They do however display a remarkable consistency of glaze, which is the rich, lustrous black of the 4th century.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 328, 329, 330, 332, 333, 334, 360 - Total: 7

Overall total: 7

Date: 480-425 (Cup-handles: 5th/ 4th century?)

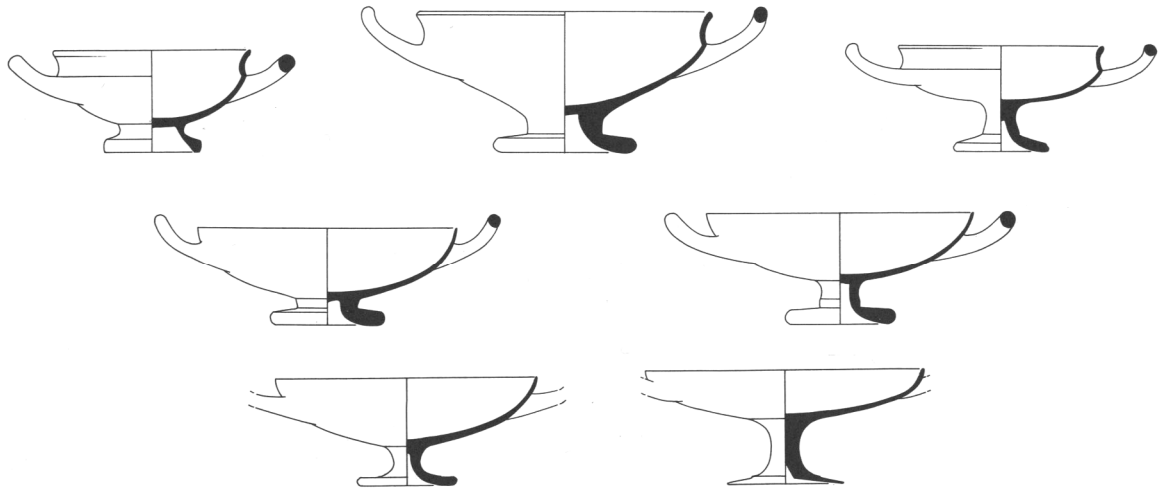


Fig. 32. A range of kylikes from the Athenian Agora, shown in ca. 1:5.

Saltcellars:

Shape: Spool type: cat. 338 Cf. Rotroff 1984: # 1 and 2 respectively, Gill 2008: fig. 3, *Agora* XXIX: nos. 1067-68, fig. 65

Distribution:

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 338 - Total: 1

Overall total: 1

Date: 325-295

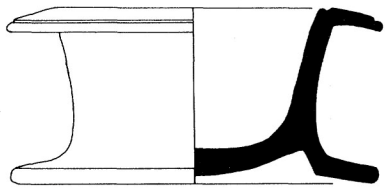


Fig. 33. Example of spool type saltcellar from the Athenian Agora, shown in ca. 1:2.

Skyphoi:

Shape: Floral type (fig. 24): This has a matt red floral-pattern combined with a running wave-meander. Though of an even, buff colour, the fabric is not as fine as the Greek. The floral design is reminiscent of a mix between ivy-and-grape decorations used in many Greek styles and West Slope decoration. Clearly Paionian adaptation of Attic type A skyphos, it has its own stylistic development possible to follow in its decoration, but more importantly there seems to be parallels between the development of this and the Attic equivalent's shape. This causes a problem of stratigraphic chronology, which might be caused possibly by misdating, possibly by disturbed contexts, or the reuse of already deposited vessels. If it is proven to be of the late 4th to the early 3rd century it shows that this particular tradition survived at least one of the city's destructions. No parallels to this type could be located in any of the literature available, but it was claimed by Boban Husenovski to be late 5th to early 4th century (Neidinger & Matthews 2008: 18). It is highly unlikely that the Paionians developed the skyphos into a shape it would not attain at its centre of production until more than fifty years later, when in most other instances they follow the Greek pottery trends closely but a little retarded. In support of this one can observe that Paionian kantharoi follow the Greek closely throughout the 4th century. That the type must belong to this period is quickly evident as almost all kantharoi found in Paionia have spurred vertical handles (*Agora* XII: 122, e.g. Mikulcic 2003: pl. XV, Fowler & Blazevska 1995: 24, Fowler 1996: 22, Mikulcic 1990: fig. 2). Starting out as a plain type in the first half of the century (cf. Mikulcic 2003: cat. 24-IV,

244-IV with *Agora* XII: cat. 707) they quickly adopt the moulded rim and ribbed wall introduced in the second half (cf. Fowler 1995: art. M22.8.5-C with *Agora* XII: cat. 704, and *Agora* XII cat. 351, 352, 353: our type is of the same shape but much larger). It displays the same developmentally sensitive diagnostics as the Attic type A skyphos: double curved body, outturned lip, triangular handle-loop, and torus base (*Agora* XII: 85).

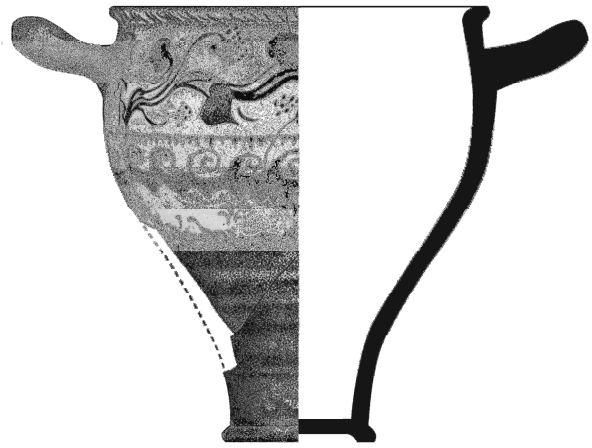


Fig. 34. Floral decorated skyphos, shown in ca. 1:4.

Palmetto type: (fig. 25) The type is painted in a matt, dark brown, reserved palmetto design. Although of a different shape, the palmetto design belongs to the same style as the plate cat. 234 (cf. shape cat. 230).

Unpainted type: These are found both in plain- and grey-ware examples. All copy the Attic type A shape, though most were of the simple, early form.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 1: cat. 35, 49, 56; Space 6: cat. 178; Space 7: cat. 295 - Total: 5

Phase II: Space 5: cat. 227, 228, 229, 230, 256, 280, 286, 293 - Total: 8

Phase III: Space 2: cat. 25; Space 3: cat. 103, 148 - Total: 3

Overall total: 16

Date: floral and palmetto: 375-325, unpainted: $4^{th} – 2^{nd}$.

Fig. 35. Palmetto decorated skyphos, shown in ca. 1:4.

Category F

Objects used for spinning and weaving, i.e. objects used in another household activity: loom weights, spindle whorls. Clay is coarse, with much, to some inclusion. Surface is usually untreated, but might be smoothed.

Loom weights

Shape: The most common form is the tall pyramidal. One of our examples, cat. 357, was round. Cat. 355 was typologically identifiable, and consequentially dated (cf. Fowler & Blazevska (1996): type A (p. 27)).

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 6: cat. 351, 352 - Total: 2

Phase III: Space 3: cat. 356, 357; Space 4: cat. 349, 354, 355 - Total: 5

Overall total: 7

Date: 3rd or 2nd century

Spindle whorls

Shape: Only two examples come from relevant contexts, and neither typologically identifiable.

Distribution:

Phase I: Space 6: cat. 350, 353 - Total: 2

Overall total - 2

Date: Unknown

Chapter IV: The analysis– a synchronic approach

In this chapter the functional distribution of the material will be discussed synchronically, i.e. each space will be looked at separately, and no temporal processes will be followed. The chapter opens with a brief look at the total pottery distribution, before considering each of the eight spaces. It then closes with further considerations on the patterns evident in the total distribution and possible reasons for them.

Certain assumptions that were made in advance of this discussion are in need of being stated explicitly before any interpretations of the material can be put forward. The most basic assumption is that the dominance, i.e. a high percentage, of a functional group, or possibly a shape, can give an indication of the activities which took place in a given space. This then allows for interpretations to be made of that space's possible function. A high percentage of vessels used for serving and drinking wine might imply e.g. ritual activities, as the consumption of wine, at least in a Greek context, forms an important part of most ritual activities. Similarly, many cooking pots might indicate activities associated with the kitchen, while loom weights and spindle whorls could imply textile production on some scale. An even distribution among the functional categories might indicate a household.

The functional distribution of the material was as follows:

	Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
Phase	I	26	5	19	21	27	4	102
	II	13	5	15	11	23	0	67
	III	64	7	15	34	31	5	156
	Total	103	17	49	66	81	9	325

Table 4. The total pottery distributed over functional categories and phase according to number distribution within each phase and between the totals of each phase.

	Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
Phase	I	25	5	19	21	26	4	31 %
	II	19	7	22	16	34	0	21 %

	III	41	4	10	22	20	3	48 %
	Total	32	5	15	20	25	3	100 %

Table 5. The total pottery distributed over functional categories and phase according to percentage distribution within each phase and between the totals of each phase.

The first factor to be considered from Tables 4 and 5 is that there is much more pottery from phase III than I, even though the surface area of III is smaller than the ramp-building alone. The poorer quality and fewer imports could point to a shift from a public to a domestic use of the area, and thus a shift in the activities which took place there. When looking for a process that runs through all three phases we find that the settlement history underwent two parallel changes. Firstly, if one projects the amount of pottery from the concentration in phase II to a wider area, more material would come from this stratum than from I. In other words, if the excavated area in each phase was the same and the volume of soil taken out of each phase was the same, one would still see an increase in sherds which would be an actual increase in depositing. This could be the result of an increase or shift in activity. Secondly, there is a decrease in the quality of the material and architecture.

If the structure identified as a tower (space 1) had a protective function, the strong dominance of eating and drinking vessels here, as shown in Table 6, could be explained by an on-duty presence of people. Another interpretation could be that ritual activities have taken place. In for instance a Greek setting, a dominance of cups along with plates could work equally well in the consumption of a ritual meal as in a more domestic setting. A look at the distribution of individual shapes within the largest category reveals a dominance of cups over other shapes. Furthermore, of the ten cups found, seven were Attic Black Glazed imports, the largest concentration of the pottery type among our spaces. The subject of Greek and Paionian ritual activity will be returned to in the next chapter, but until the area adjacent to space 1, which lies underneath space 2 and in the baulk, is unearthed both interpretations remain speculative. Based on a single sounding we can not at this point say how the cultural layers were formed.

Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
	8	1	8	12	17	0	46
	17	2	17	26	37	0	100 %

Table 6. Functional distribution at the wall-tower (space 1) in phase I.

According to Table 7, at the ramp-building storage/transport vessels (A) and tableware (E) dominate. It is easy to envisage that the transport and storage vessels echo the traffic passing through the building. Another possibility is that they are connected to the eating and drinking vessels. The assemblage could then point to ritual activities in front of the ramp-building. The possible presence of ritual activity here will also be returned in the next chapter.

Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
	3	0	1	1	4	0	9
	33	0	11	11	44	0	100 %

Table 7. Functional distribution at the ramp-building (space 7) in phase I.

From the ramp-tower (Table 8) more than half of the material was transport and storage vessels (A). This could be tied into activities at the ramp-building, for which it could act as a storage place for goods used in a ritual. The main problem with interpreting the material from these two contexts is the shortage of material to come out of them. Only 23 vessels in total make for very speculative hypotheses. Table 9 forms the last part of the ramp-building, but it can hardly be made to yield answers to questions concerning the other structures. The even functional distribution of pottery can easily be refuse from the numerous spaces close by.

Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
	8	0	1	4	1	0	14
	57	0	7	29	7	0	100 %

Table 8. Functional distribution at the ramp-tower (space 8) in phase I.

Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
	7	4	9	4	5	4	33
	21	12	27	12	15	12	100 %

Table 9. Functional distribution at the ramp-walls (space 6) (uncertain phase).

Due to its small surface area, enclosing walls, and central fireplace, phase II is considered as a single space (Table 10). The dominance of vessels used in the preparation and consumption of food and drink (categories C and E) supports the idea that the part uncovered was the food related area of a house. However, on odds with the fireplace, grinder, and mortarium, there are conspicuously little cooking vessels for a kitchen. This shall be returned to in chapter V.

Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
	13	5	15	11	23	0	67
	19	7	22	16	34	0	100 %

Table 10. Functional distribution at the squatters' house (space 5) in phase II.

In the first of two main contexts in phase III (Table 11), there is an equal distribution of storage (A), serving (D) and consumption ware (E). Again this could suggest an area of the household connected to food. As in phase II we are not dealing with a kitchen such as one might expect, since very little cooking vessels were found.

Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
	9	2	4	8	9	0	32
	28	6	12	25	28	0	100 %

Table 11. Functional distribution at the south-west area (space 2) in phase III.

In the other main concentration in this phase (Table 12) we find a dominance of storage and transport vessels, which could suggest a storage area of some sorts. However, the most prominent element in this table is the sheer number of vessels concentrated in such a small area. This density could point to a refuse dump, although no pit formations were found

Within category A 30 vessels, or 70 %, were amphorae. There were also numerous pithoi in this and the adjacent area south of this space. Placed within the larger setting of phase III this division of shapes could indicate a re-allocation place for goods. Here one would transfer whatever was transported in the amphorae over into pithoi, after which the former were discarded. But many amphorae were also reused for other purposes, as household items, storage, and transport. Any attempt at to analyse the material in such a detail has yet to be made.

Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
	43	4	8	17	16	2	90
	48	4	9	19	18	2	100 %

Table 12. Functional distribution at the central area (space 3) in phase III.

A very similar distribution is found in the final Table 13, showing the functional distribution of the material from the plaster floor (space 4) in L/M12. The material mainly stems from pits cut into this floor. Though these pits for the most part are missing the pithoi they were meant to store, they may indicate yet another storage room. Though on a different level than the rest of phase III, the plaster floor was also hemmed in by the fortification wall. But, only one third of the number of vessels was found here compared to the central area (space 3) and thus any conclusions will be on less certain ground.

Function	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
	12	1	3	9	6	3	34
	35	3	9	26	18	9	100 %

Table 13. Functional distribution at the plaster floor (space 4) in phase III.

In total the pottery from phase III makes up almost half of the total assemblage from the three phases. Despite the domestic nature of the phase, very few sherds belonging to category B and C come from here. So while much storage/transport-ware (A) and table-ware (D-E) was found, very little cooking-ware (B and C) was. In actuality in those functional categories there were almost fewer sherds than in any one of the other two spaces. What conclusion can be drawn from this?

Many factors beyond the archaeological *echo* of the activities we're looking for influence what material is left and how it is left to us. These factors and how they affect the pottery assemblage need to be assessed first. Mills (1989) proposes two main processes universally at work behind assemblage formation. In her article she only addresses the cultural, and leaves the natural for a later occasion. Some of the natural (and not-so-natural) post-depositional processes in play at Bylazora will be pointed out here, as well as the cultural.

The following example illustrates how a socio-cultural factor has direct impact on the pottery assemblage. If one assumes that the Paionians consumed wine in much the same way as the Greeks, then one should expect a heavy dominance of cups in relation to other serving vessels (Fletcher 2005: 48).

Evidence of reoccupation of the site by squatters was abundant over most of sector 3, south of the fortification wall. These settlement phases, along with landslides, caused some disruption of contexts. They might quite possibly be the cause of additional confusion if, as some suspects, they re-used and then re-deposited older pottery.

The natural processes immediately relevant archaeologically at Bylazora are the movements of soil. The topography of the site, situated as it is in a very hilly landscape, with bedrock apparently laying very deep causes seasonal landslides of varying size. This has already been mentioned in the site description of chapter II, but is relevant when considering the natural processes contributing to the assemblage formation at Bylazora, since disturbance of the material occurred from the very outset of material depositing. At Bylazora there is also the case of man-made soil movement. Sometime after WWII the Yugoslav army constructed a ridge for bunker installations right across the settlement. As no official documents exists, and

few locals even admits this happened, the extent, and therefore the effect on the site has not been possible to appreciate.

Finally, singular sherds may move out of their contexts through cracks in the earth caused by drought, the activities of burrowing animals, growing roots, etc. This is collectively termed bioturbation.

The lack of cooking vessels in phase II and III can be partially explained by a natural assemblage formation process. The brittle nature of this very coarse ware causes it to deteriorate more quickly. The two phases' proximity to the surface would make the material more exposed to acidic solutions from rain and agricultural activity.

There are multiple factors which might have contributed to the higher density of material in phase II and III compared to I. A note of caution should be made to assume that the amount found in just the one house which constitutes phase II is representative for the entire phase. We do not know at this point how exactly it relates to phase III. We are not able to date the material close enough to rule out that they are not contemporary. We can only say with any certainty that both phases post-date phase I. Neither do we know the full extent of phase, as space 5 continues into the baulk.

The unearthing of space 5 was left unfinished as the season came to an abrupt end with the approach of bad weather. It seems likely that the fireplace L13.3, which forms part of phase III, extends over space 5, but this relation is blurred by the filled-in sounding of the mid-1990s. Without the relation clearly understood we might unknowingly have found a large refuse dump from phase III, over an earlier context. Though not much indicates that this is the case, only a complete unearthing of the area can disprove it altogether.

Another possibility to consider is that the part accidentally hit upon actually represents a concentration, or activity nucleus, such as the two found in phase III. If that is the case there might not be an increase, but rather a continuation or even reduction in material density. In either case, comparing the material from all three phases as equally representational samples would lead one to make wrong inferences. The risk was deemed acceptable for this study, since it was unavoidable at this point if one wanted to achieve an outlining of the settlement history. The use of phase II despite its small size and high material density is the most uncertain variable in the statistics of this analysis.

It has been mentioned as a possibility that the squatters re-used pottery from previous phases. If that were so it would have an impact on the pottery distribution. As phase III is probably the last settlement phase in sector 3, the pottery would accumulate there. Pottery taken over from earlier phases would both have a negative effect on the statistics of earlier

phases, and a positive effect on later. This can only account for so much, and most of the evidence does point to an increase in pottery production and consumption over time in this part of the site.

Less material in phase I can also be a consequence of its contexts being more exposed. The numerous stone surfaces and structures are exposed to soil moving over them dragging along any material. Certainly material from these contexts have been disturbed and moved away as stones were quarried, from antiquity right up to our own times.

Perhaps the first thought that comes to mind after looking over these tables is how few and short they are. There is, admittedly, a shortage of material. It has therefore been necessary to analyse and interpret the results through a more qualitative approach. A qualitative approach is also needed when considering the meaning of each of the ramp-building complex elements' differences in the greater picture. That is why the definition of each category can not be too rigid, nor the interpretations too simplified, or predetermined by an activity represented by each group. It is possible for the same category in two places to indicate different activities when looked at in more detail.

That so little pottery was found, in some areas of the complex none, is in itself a fact open for interpretation. In a functional analysis, or the archaeological record for that matter, one does not expect to find an even distribution of material. Of immediate relevance for this study is that different activities will leave varying concentrations of material, some activities will not leave archaeologically observable traces at all. There is an inherent danger of speculation when interpreting negative evidence and one need to be mindful of depending too much on its conclusions.

But this can be advantageous as well as a drawback for the project. First of all it makes for statistics that are easy to present and read, in tables that do not demand a lot of explanation. In this way the facts are made to speak for themselves, without much manipulation. The archaeologist endeavours to present his data and finds as objectively as possible before any interpretations are made, and although he is aware of them, he rarely communicates the bias inherent in such tools or how misleading the use of them can be. Statistics can easily be used to disguise weaknesses or even faults in the hypothesis or conclusion, a problem made all the more acute as computer graphics becomes ever more dazzling (Shennan 1997: 23). Another factor to consider before even applying statistics is whether it provides answers either that are new or in a more efficient and understandable way.

One of the principles of statistics is that the higher the quantity, the more precise and secure the conclusion and its application are. One of the weaknesses of the method is the margin of errors and the need for a complete set of data to rule out or minimize those errors. Traditionally very few large scale excavations of historical sites around the Mediterranean have the resources, or in the eyes of many the need, to document, study and store the totality of the considerable amounts of the pottery found in contexts. Unless it is the main aim of the project, it would in most cases not be feasible to alter excavation methods and thereby constrict on other areas of study in order to facilitate a functional approach to site pottery.

Nor, of course, is the archaeological material found 100% representative of what was in use at the site. For an infinite number of reasons, even in the case of potter, the archaeological record one is left with is not in a one-to-one relationship to the material production in the past (without saying anything about the lack of metal and vessels of perishable material). This is the one of the most important reasons why at best the tables may only be used to "(…) generate proposals and indicate tendencies of development" (Brandt 2004). Seeing as 2008 was the very first season at Bylazora, this project is a work in progress, and data from such a limited group of material should especially be expected to hold a certain margin of error, as well as provide somewhat ambiguous answers.

Downplaying the complexity of the archaeological record might lead one to interpret and make inferences that oversimplify past events and processes. Archaeological sites, contexts, and material are always complex matters. By simplifying these too much one runs the risk of simplifying human behaviour and cultural processes, and thereby loses information that might be less tangible. This is hardly the case here, but rather a lack of available information yielded by the site and material in the first place. The main disadvantage is that interpretations and generalizations are on less secure ground. Not least a problem is that the *archaeological sample* is small. As has been stated several times already it is not know to what extent these contexts are representative for Bylazora as a whole.

Throughout the study it has been important to acknowledge this shortcoming explicitly. This prevents one from making the assumption that any interpretation is something more than the best possible answer available at this point. It has been paramount to consider other forms of evidence and sources when available. This has been especially necessary as one takes the step from particular to general, from Bylazora's settlement history to Paionian history. Finally, one must allow for misinterpretations and revising of hypotheses as more contexts are explored.

Functional analytical models should only ever be taken to yield indications. Lack of material simply leads to weaker patterns and signs of temporal change. As long as the material can provide this, little more can be asked after only one season of research. To take it further would have been too speculative at this point, and so most questions are better left open, and only used to direct us the right way. The principles of the model, and proving its potential when applied to a material, are the fundamental ambition for this study.

After presenting all of the data it could now be worth to consider some of the factors behind the numbers in general. The most evident assemblage formation processes at play in these statistics are cultural. At a quick glance an obvious feature in most of the tables is the dominance of functional categories A and E. The two make up for 57% of the total assemblage, in phase I 52%, 54% in phase II, and 61% in phase III. There can be several reasons for this. Both categories include more shapes than most of the others. Shapes in category A are more loosely defined, including storage vessels. This is not the case for category E, which contains some of the vessels with most assuredly defined technofunctions. However, the ratio of consumption vessels to preparing and serving vessels, of which a set would be needed for each individual participating, accounts for most of this category's dominance within the contexts. Category A includes some of the more versatile and therefore most common vessels in Antiquity.

This is especially true for the amphora, which is incidentally the single most common vessel in the record, with 68 examples, or 21% of the total assemblage. That leads us to another factor which has been discussed and which can have an impact on the number vessels in category E. It is namely here that one finds what little imports were identified. The nature of trade at Bylazora has not been studied yet. But the most accessible routes for large scale transportation would have been by boat up the Axios and Strymon rivers and over into the Astibos. It is likely that cups were the most readily available fine-ware shape to reach the heartland of Paionia with these boats, as in so many areas around the Mediterranean to receive Greek imports. Something of a perpetually returning problem in discussions on the ancient economy is how the trade market functioned in terms of supply and demand. Basically, if simply *buying off the boat* then Paionian consumers were limited to what was carried easily and in great quanta by the merchants. This would be small vessels, mainly cups, stowed in between other goods (Fletcher 2005: 48).

One of the natural formation processes already mentioned apply, and is especially relevant in discussing the dominance of category A and E. The common Paionian grey-ware

is often remarkable thin, and such an amount from the site combined with the unadorned surface of the pottery made it too large a task to execute refitting on this group. Thin pottery shatters more easily and so we can be dealing with fewer actual vessels than the number recorded implies.

This can be said of the material belonging to category A as well, albeit for other reasons. A common treatment of these vessels after they had served their purpose was to deliberately shatter them to either take up less space when disposed of or for use as fill material in architecture such as walls, roads, floors etc. The later use will of course have been identified during unearthing. Furthermore, the contexts that yielded the most pottery, both in total and in category A and B were those that yielded most complete vessels.

Not a single concentration of loom weights or spindle whorls was hit upon in all the contexts. In total only nine examples were found that belonged to category F. Two came from the central area (space 3) in phase III, three more came from the plaster floor (space 4), and the final four were discovered in the sidewalls of the ramp-building, and so could have come from space 4. We do not know whether textile production did or did not take place in those spaces, and we can not infer anything beyond that. There are no traces of such an activity taking place in any of the spaces in phase I, or in II.

A final note on data in the Access base not visible in the tables given above: the material from the excavated part of Bylazora displays a very limited array of shapes. This is connected with the homogenous nature of the contexts and the relatively short chronology of the phases. Furthermore the three identified phases are close to each other in time and most fall within a period in history when Paionian life and culture was at its most stable. It is therefore not surprising that the material is homogenous as well. The dating and nature of these phases, how they can be used to sketch a settlement history of the site, and how this fits with the wider history of Paionia, will be discussed in the following chapter, when the material will be studied diachronically.

Chapter V: The discussion – a diachronic approach

Two major diachronic lines will be followed in this chapter: (1) a possible shift, from public to domestic activities, and in the function of the complex, and (2) a change in intensity and economic prosperity evident in sector 3. The former will discuss the implications of the data presented in the previous chapter and the later will consider the data against the historical backdrop. For either of these to be possible, one needs first to determine the dates of phases I, II, and III. When using written sources, the archaeological sources may not fit with the historical, and must not then be made to fit. To avoid this no attempt has been made to relate the patterns emerging from the archaeological data, other than the fortification wall, with any historical events, e.g. the Gallic invasion. One has attempted to see if the prosperity of Bylazora fluctuated in accordance with the polity as a whole.

The dates of Bylazora

There are no artefacts from the contexts which give a terminus post quem for the purposes of dating phase I. The tegulae covering the ramp were not distinctly of the 5th century type, and not possible to date at all. But the dating of the contexts underneath the fortification wall M11.2 must here be taken into consideration. The tegulae and other ceramic material point to a 5th century, and even earlier, date for this phase. They are not contemporary to the ramp; in fact part of the building complex covers them (see fig. 26). This would date phase I to sometime after these contexts, i.e. mostly after the 5th century. This again points to a construction date for the ramp sometime during the first half of the 4th century.

Secondly the re-use of architectural components in the structure also indicates that the ramp belong to the second Paionian high-era. A 5th century dating would mean that earlier monumental stone buildings, from which parts of the material were taken, would date back to the late 6th to early 5th century. This would be truly unique in a Paionian setting, and so is less likely than that the first construction was undertaken in the 5th century, and then re-built in the 4th. This building chronology coincides better with a first Paionian prosperous era in the mid-5th. After this a gradual decline towards the end of the 5th was followed by a second golden era at the beginning of the 4th century, as outlined in chapter I.

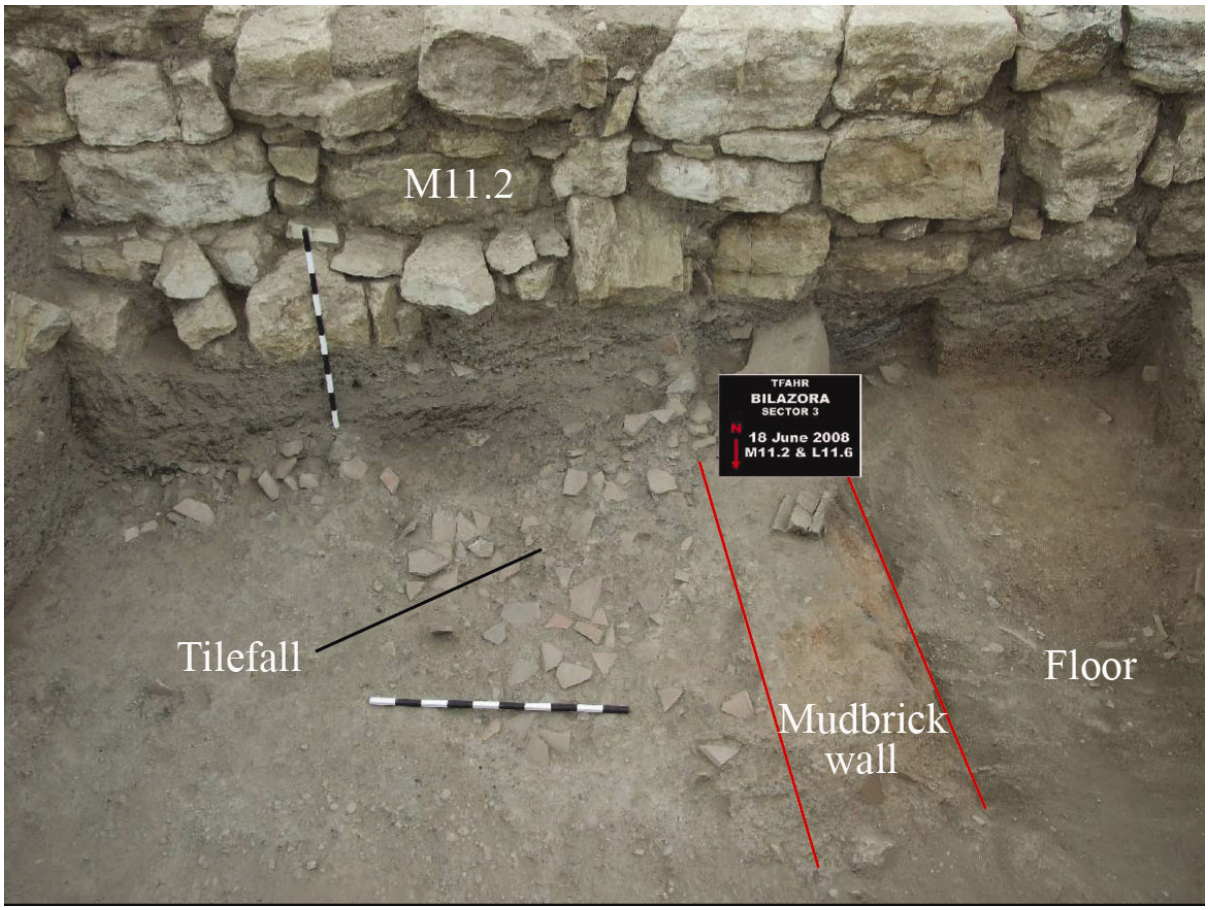


Fig. 36. Relationship between M11.2 and the pre-complex phases.

A fortified acropolis at the possible site of Bylazora begs the question if either or both M11.2 and the wall in sector 6 is part of the fortification undertaken by Philip V. In 217 Philip took (gr. *κατελάβετο*) before fortifying (gr. *ασφαλισάμενος*) the site, according to Polybius (V.97.i). One has not been able to date sector 6 yet, and M11.2 can both originally have been part of the ramp-building complex and used by Philip, as shall be argued for below. The possible presence of a Philipian wall has not facilitated our understanding of chronology particularly.

In phase II the occurrence of floral decorated skyphoi (cat.227-30, 286, 293) can be used as a terminus ante quem for phase I. Originally they were dated to the late 5th century. This date was contradictory to that of the road M13.7, which was based on the Attic saltcellar (cat. 338) from the last quarter of the 4th century. It was first assumed that this discrepancy was caused by soil disturbance which might have occurred at either space 5 or the road, rendering one of them useless for the purpose of chronology. But it is simply a case of wrong chronology. Based on analogous use of Greek typological chronology, the floral skyphoi, and thus spaces 5 and phase II are dated from mid- to late 4th century, as already discussed in chapter III. If later typological studies of Paionian pottery show that the imitation was

retarded, it would cause a down-dating of the phase. The saltcellar was found on the road covered by the same destruction layer as that covering space 5. Possibly this was built, used, and destroyed over a short period in time immediately after destruction of ramp-building.

The pottery found in phase III is hardly distinguishable from that found in phase II, and the fireplaces are of the same type. Most of the datable pottery belongs to the 3rd century (cat. 209 and 210, 219, 317, 355), which leaves open two alternatives. If this second squatters' phase followed shortly after the first, i.e. in the early 3rd century, it would mean that the fortification wall was originally part of the last ramp-construction. It would therefore not be Philip V's fortifications we have found. If, on the other hand the fortification wall is indeed Philip's, the second squatters phase followed its construction, i.e. the end of the 3rd century. Or it may immediately have followed as part of relocating the population within the fortifications, i.e. in 217. A third, and most likely, alternative is that Philip's fortifying of Bylazora meant re-fortifying it, using older, decaying walls (in our case M11.2). And so, even though aligned to M11.2, the second squatters' settlement could in fact have existed both before and after this refortification.

The phase itself consisted of many thin occupation layers, but overall the cultural and fill levels at the site were very thick. The relation of phase III to II indicates that the second squatters' settlement followed longer after the first, than phase II followed after phase I. Its proximity to the surface suggests that it was one of the last at Bylazora. In conclusion, phase III should be dated to the 3rd century, probably sometime in the second half.

To sum up, earlier versions of the ramp were built from the early to the late 5th century. The last constructed ramp as we have it is dated to rather before the Paionian floral skyphoi, i.e. first half to mid-4th century. Following the destruction of the ramp in the mid-4th century the first squatters phase quickly followed. But it was destroyed shortly after; very late in the second half of the 4th century. Sometime after that (it is hard to date precisely) a second squatters phase followed. It was either occupied shortly before or after 217, or it existed for the duration of the second half of the 3rd century and possibly into the 2nd. This is more conveniently presented in a chronological table.

Dates	Paionian history	Construction history	Functional history	Settlement history
500	Early 5th century:	1st half of 5th century:		
475	Gradual decline of Paionian kingdom	original ramp built	Public use of complex	Settlement beyond
450	before Persians and Macedonians	2nd half of 5th century:		complex, but poorly
425		settlement history not studied		understood
400				
375	Second golden era of the Paionians	1st half of 4th century: **Phase I**		Settlement beyond
350				complex, but poorly understood
325	Loss of Paionian independence to Philip II, kingdom still retains some autonomy	2nd half of 4th: **Phase II**		
300			Complex as refuge: used as domestic dwelling	Settlement within complex,
275				economic decline
250	Dropion last king (250-230)	2nd half of 3rd century: **Phase III?**		
225				continued economic
200	217: Philip fortifies the city		possibly stable and storage area	decline, but continued intensity of life
175	168: Macedonia and Paionia is reduced to republics	Early 2nd century: end of life at Bylazora		No settlement found

Table 14. Temporal changes at Bylazora and approximate dates.

Functional shifts – Phase I

In all likelihood the ramp-building complex was built as a public area. In addition to the monumentality of the complex, a very strong indication of this is the negative evidence. The almost complete lack in certain areas of pottery and other types of material supports the idea of a space used for public traffic. No *static* activities would take place in such a confined

space (as the roofed ramp must have been). The only material would be the accidental leavings of people and vehicles passing by. Daytime restricted access to the area could explain the lack of lamps, as there would be little or no need for indoors lighting after dark.

Suggestions about what the ramp leads to range from a Greek style acropolis with sanctuaries, a royal palace, an agora, to a direct passage way to a temple. In order to discuss more than speculate on this one need to consider which activities are indicated by the pottery and other types of material (such as the roof tiles the covering ramp), the shape of the entire complex (which is an area ringed in by walls, flanked by towers), and the gate itself (with rut marks across the threshold). The rut marks are traces of heavy and frequent wheeled traffic in and out of the gate (see fig. 27). This undermines the idea of an immediate temple. Even if chariots or similar vehicles were involved in a ceremony or to unload goods used in a ritual, this would not occur frequently enough to cause such wear. It does on the other hand speak for an entrance to something farther beyond the gate, e.g. a palace, agora, or sanctuary.

Fig. 37. Space 7; rut marks across threshold.

The ramp itself was roofed. The road beyond the threshold was not covered by the tile and ash layer, and so was therefore not roofed. Again, it is not likely that we are standing before a

temple, unless we have reached the forecourt of it. But since we have no idea what a Paionian temple looked like, this remains speculative. What speak for a temple are a few signs of ritual activity in front of the ramp-building, i.e. the burnt bones and discarded cups. There are no ancient written sources to the nature of Paionian religious rites. What we do know from e.g. coins is that by the time of the likely date for the complex, the Paionians had adopted the Greek pantheon. Artefacts symbolically associated with specific deities also appear on coins, such as the tripod of Apollo, and the kantharos of Dionysus (Petrova 1999: pl. XXXVII. 1, 4, also see fig. 2). By this time Paionian kings occasionally sent votive offerings to Delphi. Is this enough to suggest some semblance to Greek rites?

If we look at the material in more detail we find numerous bones of cattle, sheep, and pigs that have been burnt. This is not a coincidental assemblage of bones since cattle and pigs did not occur elsewhere. Drinking, more specifically the drinking of wine was a component, evident through the cups. Wine is suggested by the presence of wine amphorae. Early surface finds included a stamped Thasian amphora handle, which indicates that Bylazora imported wine from that island. Written sources also mention large intakes of some form of Paionian produced spirits (see again Macurdy 1925: 96). It is easy to envisage a Greek style sacrificial burning and either libations or drinking ritual, or both, taking place.

If one takes this material as evidence of a ritual in front of the ramp-building the scarcity of vessels and bones indicates that such a ritual did not take place often. Generally speaking, the rarity of cups in all of the spaces speaks against any regular ritual activity taking place within sector 3.

What do the structures in all of the sectors point to in relation to the function of the ramp-building complex and acropolis? First of all, sectors 3, 4, and 6 shows that monumental, most likely public, buildings in stone were raised at Bylazora. Some stones in sector 4 and threshold M13.8 in space 7 were re-used from one or more earlier, monumental structures in stone. These could have stood on the acropolis or at the ramp-building complex. Judging by these blocks, which are all finely cut, some with putlog holes, and one of trapezoidal shape, they came from a building. In all likelihood this building had an architrave (see fig. 28). Furthermore the monumentality and emphasis on entrance architecture at the ramp-building complex point to it being either public or for a high official, not a private individual, and a thoroughfare. This has been discussed above.

The major walls in sector 3 and 6 are not for detaining or terracing but for fortifying. This would mean that the area either functioned as a fortified citadel or contained something

worth protecting, or both, a dual role most Greek acropoleis filled. In the case of a fortified citadel it could serve as a refuge for the population as a whole during times of war or as a permanently fortified palace for a high official. If containing something of value this would most likely be a sanctuary or similar public building of great social importance. However, the refuge and value hypotheses do not exclude the possibility that the everyday use of the acropolis was as an agora.

Fig. 38. Space 7; architrave shaped building component.

Functional shifts – Phase II and III

The flimsy appearance of the squatters' settlements means they were probably semi-temporary. But it is more difficult to determine whether the inhabitants built their own houses

or simply lived among the ruins. What we see is rather a combination, with the use of ruins, wattle and daub, mud and mudbrick walls, and temporary fireplaces. Judging by these remains it was a poor settlement. With the exception of a few amphorae there were no imported goods. The lack of lamps supports this, but is still strange. Did the inhabitants not afford or have access to oil, or did they simply prefer other light sources? Almost in spite of this the pottery material is a continuation of the Hellenized grey-ware tradition, i.e. wheel-thrown pottery not of a significantly poorer quality than in earlier periods.

There seems to be no traces of specialization between households, though it is not certain we are dealing with several. It is somewhat difficult to determine exactly how many households were found in phase III, whether it was one large or two smaller houses. Nor does it seem to have been a specialization between areas and rooms of the household in terms of activities. A notable exception to this might be the central area (space 3) in phase III. If this is indeed a transfer point from transport amphorae to pithoi, it could be a sign of household organization. The lack of a south wall in space 2 and 3 might suggest that the building was open towards the south. This has led some to believe that it was a stable, but the fireplaces, clay table, and pottery points to a household. It is quite possible that Paionians at this time lived with their livestock.

The plaster floor room (space 4) may have acted as a storage room, with pithoi built into the floor. The floor is so clearly hemmed in by the corner of the fortification and ramp-building walls one can ask if it was not built as part of that structure originally, and meant as a communally shared storage area. The most common everyday storage containers were more fragile or of perishable material, like wood or wicker. Many storage containers are therefore hardly visible archaeologically. Pithoi were used for storage on a much larger scale. They were costly and not easily be moved. They could be used to store a range of commodities, including catching rainwater. But when built into the middle of the floor, like in the plaster context, one can assume they stored some kind of foodstuffs. In the ancient Greek and Macedonian household, rooms were set aside for large-scale storage in multiple pithoi (Cahill 1991: 336, Neidinger & Matthews 2007: 15).

Five pithoi might not provide unreasonably large storage for an average family. Two large pithoi, or 1838 litres, has been calculated as the average consume of a Greek family of six. Olives and olive oil could have been stored in even greater quantity. A modern Greek consumes about 50 litres of oil a year (Cahill 1991: 338). Ancient Greeks used oil for purposes besides eating, and had to cover the inevitable lean year after a harvest (Osborne 1987: 45).

Unfortunately we do not know if the Paionians used olive oil as extensively as the Greeks. The lack of oil lamps might attest to otherwise. But they were probably dependent on grain to much the same degree. As the Greeks, Paionians would have needed to account for poor harvests due to the fluctuating Balkan weather. This would have required a large storage capacity. The three pithoi attested to in the plaster floor, would therefore not be excessive for a Paionian household of only a handful of individuals. Assuming it belongs to phase III, the plaster floor area could have acted as a storage room for that one household.

The house in phase II (space 5) displays a contradictory distribution of functional categories for a household. Pottery and artefacts such as the fireplace, mortarium, and grinder suggests a kitchen. But a total lack of cooking vessels goes against this. On the basis of this material it is unlikely that the households were divided into rooms or even clearly defined activity areas. A kitchen per say is therefore nonexistent, but rather took place as activities surrounding the fireplace.

At Olynthus grindstones are not confined to, but usually found in open spaces. Both at Bylazora and Olynthus the most common types are portable. At the former they were made of a very light porous stone. That way they could be moved to wherever it was most convenient to use them (Cahill 1991: 325, 326). At both sites grinders were found alongside other table and plain vases, as well as stone and terracotta mortars. This was the case in space 5 as well. The mortarium could have been used for a range of technofunctions, such as separating the chaff, or pressing softer foodstuffs like vegetables and fish (Cahill 1991: 327, Fowler & Blazevska 1996: 31). The grinding of e.g. grain formed part of a larger food preparation process, all of which was done in the same space. The use of the grinder for extracting precious metals, as suggested by some (Sokolovska 1986: 161, pl. 38. 5-7), has been ruled out in this case.

If we look to analyses undertaken in Classical and Hellenistic Greece, households in Olynthus are somewhat similar in their organization, but of the eight houses studied, no two were organized in the exact same way. As at Bylazora, similar spaces were used for many different purposes, even within the same household. Just like in our contexts the understanding of food cooking and preparation at Olynthus was hampered by the scanty remains. Still, it became apparent that while one had a locus of cooking and food preparation they were usually built directly on the floor, and not in separate areas or rooms (Cahill 1991: 322).

It is difficult to determine whether the fireplaces found at Bylazora functioned as hearths as well as cooking surfaces. In Classical and Hellenistic Greek households the two

were usually separated (Cahill 1991: 331, Fiedler 2005: 110), but as no fireplaces without a clay cooking surface could be identified in our contexts, we cannot exclude they also served a hearth function.

The separation of cooking vessels and preparation and storage vessels at Olynthus are made sense of through the use of analogy. In much the same way as in households in contemporary Greek and Turkish villages, the preparing of food was often done in a open or communal space, while the subsequent cooking of was done in a different, specific cooking area (Cahill 1991: 332). A similar division might be in play at Bylazora, though why the plain-ware was deposited by the cooking place remains unexplained.

The function of individual spaces changed over time. Only a given household area's last function will be visible in the archaeological record. In addition, different areas might have been used, and changed function, according to the seasons. During the summer activities in the house could become more spread out, while winter would cause the inhabitants to huddle in the cooking or hearth area (Cahill 1991: 334). The archaeological record reflects only the last season, during which it was abandoned or destroyed. Unfortunately it is hard to verify this scenario at Bylazora. We do not know precisely when or how life ended at Bylazora. Still, one would do well to consider this when assessing the assemblage formation processes at play as more houses come to light.

Overall the households were apparently divided into storage and *active*, possibly also livestock areas. Areas were used for a range of activities. Much space was given over to food preparation and cooking. Beyond that, little specialization is traceable. One still needs to keep open for later finds that can change this. We can easily discover concentrations of one category of material in areas relating to our spaces. As an example we expect to find concentrations of loom weights. Again negative evidence is also evidence. If representative for other parts of the squatters' settlement, and if increase in production and craft specialisation is evidence of urbanization, then we see a regression in the urbanization of Bylazora.

The settlement history

At this point one can draw a sketch of life at Bylazora. The wealth and importance of Bylazora shifted several times. This could have been caused by a change of power, possibly a shift of the royal seat away from the city, or it having been involved in a conflict. There is no material or literary sources to either of these possibilities. Still, life continued with some

intensity. The culture and people remained largely the same (though the problem of equalizing pottery with people quickly occurs), yet life regressed into a less urban style.

There is evidence of this process yet to be considered, of a quite obvious type. The distribution of local and imported fine-ware, grey-ware, and plain-ware supports the idea of economic and material decline, and shows that it was gradual. In phase I one finds the most examples of Greek imported fine-ware. Floral decorated skyphoi were only found in phase II. Phase III, despite yielding the largest number of sherds, had the fewest vessels classified as fine-ware. To follow fine-ware, and to some extent imports, as one indication of prosperity, one goes from imported, to local, to hardly any.

An economic decline as part of the squatters' settlement need also be considered in relation to its placement within the ramp-building complex. As mentioned before during phase III fortification wall M11.2 was apparently employed as a back wall. Whether or not this wall was constructed by or even formed part of Philip V's refortification of Bylazora, it could have been standing to a reasonable height at the time of the squatters' levels. Most of the wall's height would have been made up of mudbrick anyway, a material which falls quickly into decay but which is also very quick and easy to re-build. The squatters' settlement should then be explained as citizens of Bylazora taking refuge during turbulent times by moving to relative safety within the fortifications on the acropolis.

Such a sketch does not contradict the hypothesis of a shift from public to private use of the ramp-building complex, but rather builds on it and mutually supports and is supported by it. It also underpins the idea that the summit of the plateau on which the site is located indeed acted as a fortified high-city (acropolis) refuge. What other roles the summit played remains to be determined.

Bylazora and Paionia

The attempt made above to make sense of the squatter's levels at Bylazora does not necessarily imply that an administrative power was in existence at this time. The re-allocating of Bylazora's population could have been on the inhabitants own initiative, onto an already fortified acropolis. Polybius and Livy do not mention anything that might give us a clue to the identity of the administrators of the city. Philip V's fortification could have been a purely military undertaking along his border, implying only the presence of a garrison. If a strong administration had been in place it is unlikely that the fortifications of old would have been allowed to fall into disrepair in the first place.

To turn to the material evidence, the lack of coins suggests a weakened administration. In the 6th century Paionians started minting Greek type coins of high quality due to an abundance of silver and gold ores (Petrova 1999: 93). Apart from a few exceptions coins named the minting indigenous group and no king. By the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century Persian invasion and Macedonian occupation put an end to minting with the seizing of the Pangaeum mines (Petrova 1999: 95, 96). After a gap of about a century, Paionians started minting again at the start of the 4th century. All coins now bore the portraits and names of the Paionian *basileus*. This continued until the time of Dropion (250-230), the last Paionian king who minted his own coins (Petrova 1999: 97, 98), and the last to come down to us from history.

How does the chronology of the three phases fit with what we know of Paionian minting, the weakening of Paionian autonomy, and finally the demise of the monarchy? Having been placed in the period just after the minting lacuna of the 5th century, one would expect to find coins in phase I, but it is possible to explain this lack by looking at the different contexts. Though baffled at first by this, the excavators mostly agree that it was simply poor luck that no coins were found on the ramp, threshold, or road. Coins lost in between paving stones in such contexts are otherwise commonplace. It is hoped that phase I and II, when opened farther, will yield coins. This is not to be expected of phase III as it either belongs to the third quarter of the 3rd century, when Paionian power and minting finally declined, or if somewhat later and belonging to the fourth quarter and the time of Philip V, minting had sized altogether.

In Livy, we hear of how the Third Macedonian War (172-168) ended in the defeat of Perseus by Pydna, with the result that Macedonia and Paionia were reduced. During these events Gallic armies are invited by Perseus (a Macedonian) to pass through Bylazora. This gives the impression of a passive city, without any power to take action for or against the events happening in its vicinity. Bylazora had possibly lost its role both as a city and as a fortress by then. During the final conflict with Rome we hear nothing of the city.

History says nothing about the final demise of Bylazora. Was the city destroyed or gradually abandoned before or after Macedonia and Paionia became a Roman province in 148? Phase III, being the latest settlement phase, displays few if any signs of violent destruction. But with so many vessels left behind apparently as they were, one gets the feeling that the inhabitants left in a hurry. A reallocation or displacement of indigenous population groups by Romans within a Roman province, or even the Roman controlled Macedonian republics, does not seem wholly unlikely. Another possible (and again not contradictory)

scenario is that Paionian society underwent a decentralization process, as the political and economic standing of the larger settlements quickly deteriorated. When centres reappeared later in the Roman period, it was at entirely new sites such as Stobi, places which were better suited to serve the new power. Bylazora had by then passed into history.

Fig. 39. Coin minted by Dropion.

Conclusion

It was immediately evident that sector 3 at Bylazora consisted of several distinctly different settlement phases. The first was dominated by large stone structures, notably a ramp-building and adjacent walls and towers. Among these very little material was found. Partially on top of these architectural remains the excavators unearthed settlements almost void of structures but abundant with pottery. These were separated into two phases, both coined as *squatters' settlements* due to the nature of numerous fireplaces found there and their re-use of the older architecture. The work done during the summer of 2008 limited available contexts in time and space. Only sector 3 was sufficiently explored to allow a closer study, and the depth dug reached levels not older than the 5th century.

The little pottery that was found among the monumental ruins displayed a higher quality and included more imports than in the contexts above. Shape classification and typological dating of each sherd was attempted. The material consisted for the most part of Hellenized shapes, plain table- and cooking-ware, and a few loom-weights. All the sherds found were according to their shape, fabric and surface treatment included in one of 6 functional categories. The categories were limited to cultural activities likely to be reflected in the material, and which commonly occur in public or domestic contexts.

The scarcity of material in the first phase meant practically no activities could be attested to. The only exception was a concentration in front of the ramp of burnt bones and pottery. This was taken as traces of ritual activity. In the squatters' phases there were several households. The concentrations around three of the fireplaces indicated food preparation. The

great mass of pottery in the last phase could indicate a garbage dump, though there were no pits. In the area around the food preparation areas in the last phase, several pithoi suggested a storage area, which may or may not have served a larger part of the community than the individual household.

It seems likely that by the last two settlement phases there was a low level of specialization and spatial division of activities, and as a whole the complex went from serving the public to becoming a domestic area. From this perspective Bylazora's economic history concurs well with what we know of the history of Paionia. A shift in the material supports this. There are strong indications that earlier public areas on the acropolis served as refuge for the city's population from the very end of the 4th century onwards. These shelters more than houses, might have served the daily needs of an unknown number of people. They were not strictly organized into rooms, but were flexible enough to include a number of activities in each area.

Life at Bylazora followed the same path as the rest of the polity. Material decline followed the economic which again followed the political, ending in the final abandoning of Bylazora at about the same time as the final demise of Paionia.

Chapter VI: Final remarks

It is tempting to speculate on what will be found in later seasons. What might first be uncovered is the extent of the squatters' settlement. One will ascertain if the settlement covers the rest of the acropolis, if it is hemmed in by the circuitry of the fortification wall all around, and whether the material is representative for the entire phase or not. One will also be able to see if the fortification walls in sector 3 and 6 actually connect to create a circuitry.

Of more importance, the earlier phases will be explored further. Both the contexts north of M11.2 and the earlier construction phases of the ramp will be focused upon in the hope that they might aid our understanding and dating of the architectural complex.

Most expectations are as to what will be found on the acropolis. The search will especially be after layers which are contemporaneous to the ramp-building complex. It goes without saying that one hopes to find more well preserved monumental buildings. When, or if, such discoveries are made it will remain to be seen how well the structures and material will fit in with the settlement history sketched here.

It is hoped that the method, model and observations from this study can be of use for later seasons. The principal ambition is for the project to directly contribute to the understanding of Bylazora. Since the excavations have only just started and so little of the total site has been uncovered, the hypotheses put forward here will probably be somewhat redundant after the coming season. But the method and principles on which these stand can be utilized as tools to be applied to all later season and most other parts of the site.

One will therefore need to review the data after next season is concluded. This includes developing recording and documentation procedures better suited to studies of this kind. It also entails having to take in new contexts and material. Vessels can be incorporated to achieve a more sophisticated typology and chronology, and one must include newly found shapes into the functional categories and possibly even change these. As a consequence one might have to reduce or expand upon the number of categories, or to redefine them. After several future seasons at the site, when a more complete view of the city has been achieved, it will be possible to apply a functional analysis on several urban micro and macro levels.

It is also hoped that the hypotheses put forward in this study have not been too rigid and absolute, so as to be completely redundant when more of the complex is unearthed. After all, this study has had to make do with the information available at the time. But one should expect to refine the temporal change in use of the complex, especially its chronology. The

settlement history can certainly be expanded upon, not least to incorporate other contexts which might be discovered within the analytical framework.

Accepting the settlement history sketched in this study, later seasons might tell us if the households changed over this period. We have good indications of economic changes over time from the studied phases. But we can say little about the way houses were built and households organized farther back in time, before the squatters' levels, or in other parts of the city. The conclusion drawn that life at Bylazora continued intensively throughout the 4th, 3rd, and beginning of the 2nd century, but in the refuge of the fortified acropolis and in a increasingly unstable political and economic environment, might not be valid after all.

The main objective for next season will be to refine and adapt the documentation procedures of the pottery in order to facilitate further such functional analyses. Only then can the full potential of this approach to the material be realized.

Fig. 40. Bylazora at sunrise.

Appendix I: Glossary

Analogy – a process of reasoning whereby two entities or processes that share some similarities are assumed to share others. In archaeology (and in this study) *formal* analogy is based on a direct comparison of some observable characteristics, which can be transferred from one case to another.

Context – an archaeological stratigraphic unit or in this study also an archaeological feature.

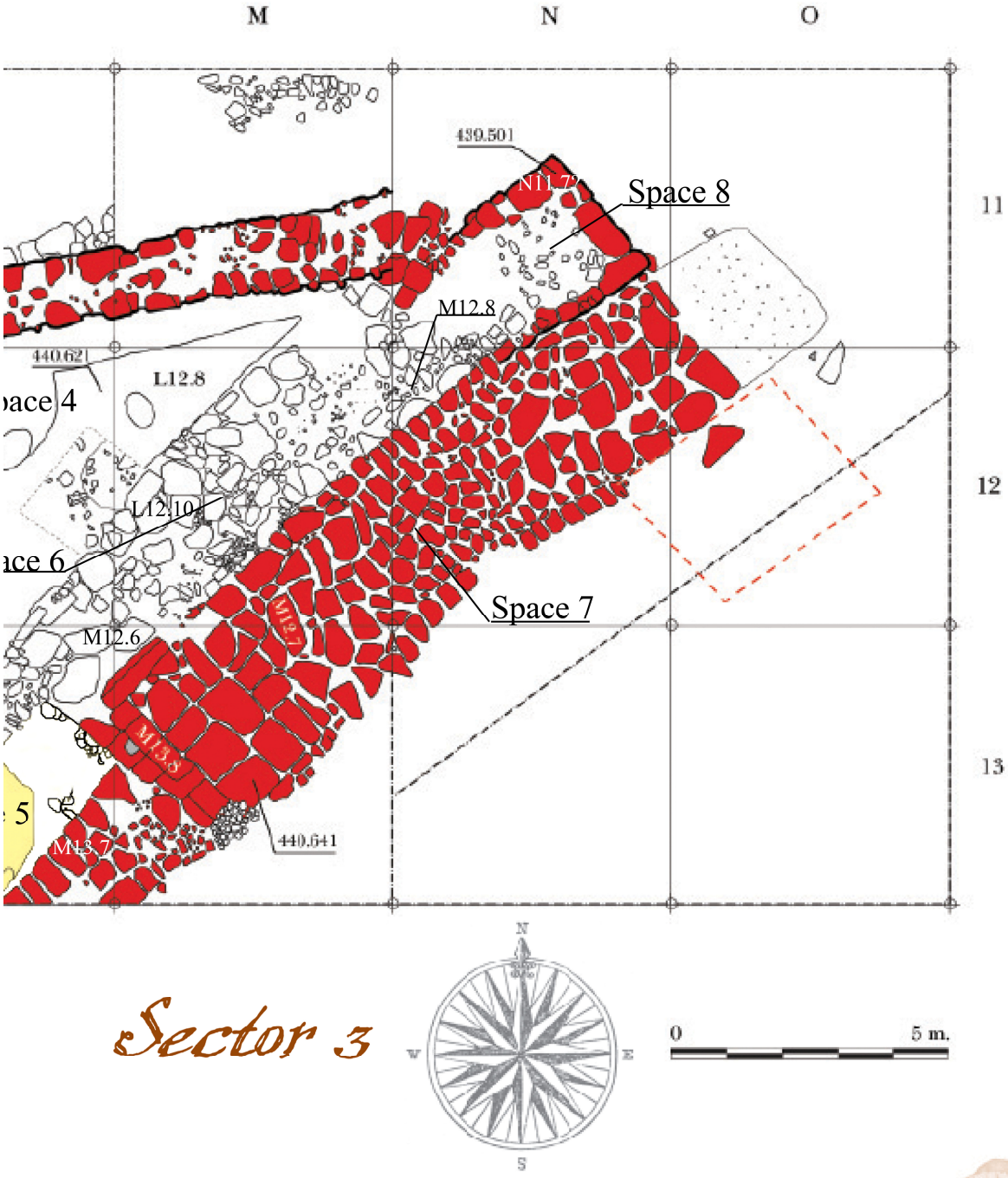
Locus system – a recording system developed by Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) for his excavations in the Middle East. The system used at Bylazora was a simplified version. In this system every feature or locus (soil change, architectural remain, artefact) discovered is assigned a number designed (with the help of a grid) to allow archaeologists at a later time to tell immediately where the locus is located on the site in relation to all other loci.

Phase – groupings of broadly contemporary features at a site into a single entity, to allow for observations of temporal changes and processes.

Space – several contexts which can be said to form a spatially definable entity.

Technofunction – the utilitarian aspects of an artifact's use (as opposed to socio- and ideofunctions).

Fig. 41: Site plan


M
N
O
11
12
13
439.501
N11.7
Space 8
M12.8
440.62
L12.8
ace 4
L12.10
ace 6
Space 7
M12.6
M12.7
M12.5
5
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Appendix II: Pottery catalogue

Cat	Site	Sec	Art	Conte	Shape	Fabric	Decoration	Prove	Dating	Comment
1	Bylazora	3	I13.3.1.	Destructi	Jug	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	Complete
2	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Cup	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	Verticle handles
3	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Large
4	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
5	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
6	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Echinos	Fine-ware	Matt red paint	Paionia	l. 6th-4th	
7	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Cup	Plain-ware		Local	?	Handmade
8	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
9	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Cup	Plain-ware		Local	?	Handmade
10	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
11	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
12	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Kanthar	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
13	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
14	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	Macedonian-type
15	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	
16	Bylazora	3	I13.3.2.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
17	Bylazora	3	I13.3.4.	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	Complete
18	Bylazora	3	I13.3.5.	Destructi	Oinochoe	Fine-ware	Matt red paint	Paionia	l. 6th-e.	
19	Bylazora	3	I13.3.6.	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
20	Bylazora	3	I13.3.6.	Destructi	Pot	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
21	Bylazora	3	I13.3.6.	Destructi	Pyranoi	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
22	Bylazora	3	I13.3.6.	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Flat rim, grooved
23	Bylazora	3	I13.3.6.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
24	Bylazora	3	I13.3.6.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
25	Bylazora	3	I13.3.6.	Destructi	Skyphos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
26	Bylazora	3	I13.3.7.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	Macedonian-type
27	Bylazora	3	I13.3.8.	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
28	Bylazora	3	I13.3.8.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
29	Bylazora	3	I13.3.9.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
30	Bylazora	3	I13.4.1.	Fill/	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
31	Bylazora	3	I13.4.1.	Fill/	Jug	Plain-ware		Local	?	
32	Bylazora	3	I13.4.1.	Fill/	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep, Biconical
33	Bylazora	3	I13.4.2.	Fill/	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
34	Bylazora	3	I13.4.2.	Fill/	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
35	Bylazora	3	I13.4.2.	Fill/	Skyphos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
36	Bylazora	3	I13.4.2.	Fill/	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
37	Bylazora	3	I13.4.2.	Fill/	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
38	Bylazora	3	I13.4.4.	Fill/	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
39	Bylazora	3	I13.4.4.	Fill/	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
40	Bylazora	3	I13.4.4.	Fill/	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Biconical

Cat	Site	Sec	Art	Conte	Shape	Fabric	Decoration	Prove	Dating	Comment
41	Bylazora	3	I13.4.4.	Fill/	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
42	Bylazora	3	I13.4.5.	Fill/	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
43	Bylazora	3	I13.4.5.	Fill/	Bowl	Fine-ware	Painted palmette	Paionia	4th	Deep
44	Bylazora	3	I13.4.5.	Fill/	Kalpida	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
45	Bylazora	3	I13.4.5.	Fill/	Lid	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
46	Bylazora	3	I13.4.5.	Fill/	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
47	Bylazora	3	I13.4.5.	Fill/	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
48	Bylazora	3	I13.4.5.	Fill/	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	Flat rim
49	Bylazora	3	I13.4.5.	Fill/	Skyphos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
50	Bylazora	3	I13.4.6.	Fill/	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
51	Bylazora	3	I13.4.7.	Fill/	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
52	Bylazora	3	I13.4.7.	Fill/	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep, Biconical
53	Bylazora	3	I13.4.7.	Fill/	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	Macedonian-type
54	Bylazora	3	I13.4.7.	Fill/	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
55	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Jug	Plain-ware		Local	?	
56	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Skyphos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
57	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Jug	Plain-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
58	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Jug	Plain-ware		Local	?	
59	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Plate	Fine-ware	Red painted	Paionia	?	
60	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
61	Bylazora	3	I13.4.9.	Fill/	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
62	Bylazora	3	I13.4.9.	Fill/	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paeonin	4th-2nd	
63	Bylazora	3	I13.5.1.	Floor	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
64	Bylazora	3	I13.5.1.	Floor	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
65	Bylazora	3	I13.5.1.	Floor	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
66	Bylazora	3	J12.6.1.	Rubble	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
67	Bylazora	3	J12.6.1.	Rubble	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
68	Bylazora	3	J12.6.1.	Rubble	Hitra	Coarse-ware	Burnished	Local	?	
69	Bylazora	3	J13.2.1.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
70	Bylazora	3	J13.2.1.	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep, Biconical
71	Bylazora	3	J13.2.2.	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
72	Bylazora	3	J13.2.3.	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
73	Bylazora	3	J13.2.4.	Destructi	Kalpida	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
74	Bylazora	3	J13.2.5.	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
75	Bylazora	3	J13.2.5.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
76	Bylazora	3	J13.4.1.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
77	Bylazora	3	J13.4.1.	Destructi	Cup	Plain-ware		Local	?	Vertical handled
78	Bylazora	3	J13.4.1.	Destructi	Kalpis	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
79	Bylazora	3	J13.4.15	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
80	Bylazora	3	J13.4.15	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
81	Bylazora	3	J13.4.15	Destructi	Kanthar	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
82	Bylazora	3	J13.4.15	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	

Cat	Site	Sec	Art	Conte	Shape	Fabric	Decoration	Prove	Dating	Comment
83	Bylazora	3	J13.4.16	Destructi	Dish	Plain-ware		Local	?	Stemmed
84	Bylazora	3	J13.4.16	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
85	Bylazora	3	J13.4.17	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
86	Bylazora	3	J13.4.19	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
87	Bylazora	3	J13.4.19	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
88	Bylazora	3	J13.4.19	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
89	Bylazora	3	J13.4.19	Destructi	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
90	Bylazora	3	J13.4.19	Destructi	Hitra	Coarse-ware	Burnished	Local	?	
91	Bylazora	3	J13.4.20	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
92	Bylazora	3	J13.4.20	Destructi	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
93	Bylazora	3	J13.4.20	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
94	Bylazora	3	J13.4.20	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
95	Bylazora	3	J13.4.20	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware	Inscribed labrys	?	?	
96	Bylazora	3	J13.4.20	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
97	Bylazora	3	J13.4.20	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
98	Bylazora	3	J13.4.20	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
99	Bylazora	3	J13.4.20	Destructi	Juglet	Plain-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
100	Bylazora	3	J13.4.21	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
101	Bylazora	3	J13.4.3.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
102	Bylazora	3	J13.4.3.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
103	Bylazora	3	J13.4.3.	Destructi	Skyphos	Plain-ware		Local	?	
104	Bylazora	3	J13.4.3.	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
105	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
106	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
107	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
108	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
109	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Lid	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
110	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Horshoe-handled
111	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
112	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
113	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
114	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Kanthar	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
115	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
116	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
117	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
118	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
119	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
120	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
121	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
122	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
123	Bylazora	3	J13.4.6.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
124	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep

Cat	Site	Sec	Art	Conte	Shape	Fabric	Decoration	Prove	Dating	Comment
125	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Handmade
126	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Cup	Plain-ware		Local	?	Vertical handled
127	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
128	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Kalpida	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
129	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
130	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	
131	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
132	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
133	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Small
134	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
135	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Oinochoe	Plain-ware		Local	?	Small
136	Bylazora	3	J13.5.1.	Floor	Storage	Coarse.ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
137	Bylazora	3	K12.2.1.1	Destructi	Olpe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
138	Bylazora	3	K12.2.2.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
139	Bylazora	3	K12.2.3.1	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep, Biconical
140	Bylazora	3	K12.2.4.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
141	Bylazora	3	K12.2.5.1	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
142	Bylazora	3	K12.2.5.2	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
143	Bylazora	3	K12.2.6.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
144	Bylazora	3	K12.2.6.2	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	Macedonian type
145	Bylazora	3	K12.2.6.3	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep, Biconical
146	Bylazora	3	K12.2.6.4	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Handmade
147	Bylazora	3	K12.2.6.5	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Kantharoid
148	Bylazora	3	K12.2.7.1	Destructi	Skyphos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
149	Bylazora	3	K12.2.7.2	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
152	Bylazora	3	K12.2.7.5	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
153	Bylazora	3	K12.2.7.6	Destructi	Pot	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
154	Bylazora	3	K12.2.7.7	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
155	Bylazora	3	K12.2.7.8	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
156	Bylazora	3	K12.2.7.9	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
157	Bylazora	3	K13.5.1.1	Unknow	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
173	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware	Zig-zag ornament	Paionia	4th-2nd	
174	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
175	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	Macedonian type
176	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
177	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	Handmade
178	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Skyphos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
179	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
180	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep, Biconical
181	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
182	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
183	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	

Cat	Site	Sec	Art	Conte	Shape	Fabric	Decoration	Prove	Dating	Comment
185	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Bowl	Coarse-ware	Burnishing	Local	6th-4th	
186	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
187	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Pot	Coarse-ware	Vertical Ribs	Local	?	Relief moulded
188	Bylazora	3	L12.13.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
189	Bylazora	3	L12.13.	Destructi	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Handmade
190	Bylazora	3	L12.13.	Destructi	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
191	Bylazora	3	L12.13.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
192	Bylazora	3	L12.13.	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Biconical
193	Bylazora	3	L12.13.	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
195	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
196	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
197	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
199	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Oinochoe	Plain-ware		Local	?	
200	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
201	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Kanthar	Plain-ware		Local	?	
202	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
203	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	
204	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
206	Bylazora	3	L12.4.1.1	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
207	Bylazora	3	L12.4.1.2	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
208	Bylazora	3	L12.4.2.1	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	Inturned-lip type
209	Bylazora	3	L12.4.2.2	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		Macedon	3rd	
210	Bylazora	3	L12.4.2.3	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		Greek	3rd	
211	Bylazora	3	L12.4.3.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
212	Bylazora	3	L12.4.4.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
213	Bylazora	3	L12.4.4.2	Destructi	Jug	Plain-ware		Local	?	
214	Bylazora	3	L12.4.4.3	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
215	Bylazora	3	L12.4.4.4	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	Macedonian type
216	Bylazora	3	L12.4.4.5	Destructi	Plate	Fine-ware	Matt red paint	Paionia	4th	Deep
217	Bylazora	3	L12.4.4.6	Destructi	Kanthar	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
218	Bylazora	3	L12.4.4.7	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		Greek	?	
219	Bylazora	3	L12.4.4.8	Destructi	Plate	Grey-ware		Paionia	3rd-2nd	Deep
220	Bylazora	3	L12.5.1.1	Unknow	Pyranoi	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
221	Bylazora	3	L12.5.1.2	Unknow	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
222	Bylazora	3	L12.5.2.1	Unknow	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
224	Bylazora	3	L12.5.2.3	Unknow	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
225	Bylazora	3	L12.5.3.1	Unknow	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
226	Bylazora	3	L12.5.3.2	Unknow	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
227	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Skyphos	Fine-ware	Floral decoration	Paionia	4th	
228	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Skyphos	Fine-ware		Paionia	4th	
229	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Skyphos	Fine-ware	Floral decoration	Paionia	4th	
230	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Skyphos	Fine-ware	Floral decoration	Paionia	4th	

Cat	Site	Sec	Art	Conte	Shape	Fabric	Decoration	Prove	Dating	Comment
231	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Pot	Coarse-ware	Moulded relief	Local	?	
232	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
233	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Pot	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Vertical handles
234	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Plate	Fine-ware	Dark brown	Paionia	4th	Palmetto type
235	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Pot	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Small, handmade
236	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
237	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
238	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
239	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
240	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
241	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
242	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
243	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Lid	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
244	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Pot	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Biconical
245	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
246	Bylazora	3	L13.2.2.1	Destructi	Jug	Plain-ware		Local	?	
248	Bylazora	3	L13.2.2	Destructi	Kalpida	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	Large
249	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.2	Destructi	Bowl	Coarse-ware	Rouletting	Local	?	Deep
250	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.	Destructi	Jug	Plain-ware		Local	?	
251	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.	Destructi	Lid	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
252	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	Macedonian type
253	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.	Destructi	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	Shallow
254	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.3	Destructi	Cooking	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
255	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.4	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
256	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.5	Destructi	Skyphos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
257	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.6	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
258	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.7	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
259	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.8	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
260	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.9	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
261	Bylazora	3	L13.2.7.	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
262	Bylazora	3	L13.2.8.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
263	Bylazora	3	L13.2.8.2	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
264	Bylazora	3	L13.2.8.3	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
265	Bylazora	3	L13.2.8.4	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
266	Bylazora	3	L13.2.9.1	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware	Rope decoration	Local	?	
267	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1.2	Destructi	Kalpida	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
268	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1.3	Destructi	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	
269	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1.4	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
270	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1.5	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
271	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
272	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Krater	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
273	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	Shallow

Cat	Site	Sec	Art	Conte	Shape	Fabric	Decoration	Prove	Dating	Comment
274	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	Macedonian type
275	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Kanthar	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
276	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
277	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
278	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Kalpida	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
279	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep, Biconical
280	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Skyphos	Fine-ware	?	Paeonai	4th	
281	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Kalpida	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
282	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Kalpida	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
283	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	Shallow
284	Bylazora	3	L13.5.1	Destructi	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	Shallow
285	Bylazora	3	L13.5.2	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep, Biconical
286	Bylazora	3	L13.5.2	Destructi	Skyphos	Fine-ware	Floral decoration	Paionia	4th	Palmetto type
287	Bylazora	3	L13.5.2	Destructi	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	Shallow
288	Bylazora	3	L13.5.2	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
289	Bylazora	3	L13.5.3.1	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
290	Bylazora	3	L13.5.4.1	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
291	Bylazora	3	L13.5.5.1	Destructi	Kalpida	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	Large
292	Bylazora	3	L13.5.6.1	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Large
293	Bylazora	3	L13.5.9.1	Destructi	Skyphos	Fine-ware	Floral decoration	Paionia	4th	
294	Bylazora	3	M12.9.1	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
295	Bylazora	3	M12.9.1	Destructi	Skyphos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
296	Bylazora	3	M12.9.2	Destructi	Echinos	Fine-ware	Matt red paint	Paionia	l. 6th-e.	
297	Bylazora	3	M12.9.3	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
298	Bylazora	3	M12.9.3	Destructi	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	
299	Bylazora	3	M12.9.3	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
300	Bylazora	3	M12.9.3	Destructi	Echinos	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
301	Bylazora	3	M13.5.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
302	Bylazora	3	M13.5.1	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
303	Bylazora	3	N11.5.1.1	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Horseshoe-handled
304	Bylazora	3	N11.5.2.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
305	Bylazora	3	N11.5.2.2	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
306	Bylazora	3	N11.5.2.3	Destructi	Plate	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
307	Bylazora	3	N11.5.2.4	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
308	Bylazora	3	N11.5.2.5	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
309	Bylazora	3	N11.5.3.1	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
310	Bylazora	3	N11.6.3.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
311	Bylazora	3	N11.6.4.1	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
312	Bylazora	3	N11.6.5.2	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
313	Bylazora	3	N11.6.5.3	Destructi	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Tongue-handled
314	Bylazora	3	N11.6.5.4	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local	?	Deep
315	Bylazora	3	N11.8.2.1	Ash	Storage	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Horseshoe-handled

Cat	Site	Sec	Art	Conte	Shape	Fabric	Decoration	Prove	Dating	Comment
316	Bylazora	3	L12.2.1.1	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
317	Bylazora	3	L12.2.1.2	Destructi	Echinos	Fine-ware	Ochre	Paionia	3rd-2nd	
318	Bylazora	3	L12.2.1.3	Destructi	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
319	Bylazora	3	L12.2.2.1	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Roman		
320	Bylazora	3	L12.2.2.2	Destructi	Bowl	Plain-ware		Local		Deep
321	Bylazora	3	L12.2.2.3	Destructi	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	end of 4th	
322	Bylazora	3	L12.2.2.4	Destructi	Amphor	Coarse-ware		?	?	
323	Bylazora	3	L12.2.2.5	Destructi	Jug	Plain-ware		Local		
324	Bylazora	3	L12.9.1.1	Pit	Hydria	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
325	Bylazora	3	L12.9.1.2	Pit	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
326	Bylazora	3	L12.9.1.3	Pit	Oinochoe	Grey-ware		Paionia	4th-2nd	
328	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Kylix	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	480-425	Inset lip
329	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Kylix	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	480-425	
330	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Kylix-cup	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	480-425	
331	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Echinos	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	c. 300	
332	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Kylix-cup	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	480-425	Rheneia-type
333	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Skyphos/	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	5th/4th?	
334	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Kylix-cup	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	480-425	Rheneia-type
336	Bylazora	3	I13.9.1.	Unknow	Echinos	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	c. 300	
338	Bylazora	3	L13.2.1	Destructi	Salt cellar	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	325-295	Spool type
343	Bylazora	3	N11.6.5.1	Destructi	Bowl	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic?	300-275	
344	Bylazora	3	I13.4.8.	Fill/	Krater	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	l. 5th	
349	Bylazora	3	L12.5.2.2	Unknow	Loom	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
350	Bylazora	3	L12.12.	Destructi	Spindle	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
351	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Loom	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
352	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Loom	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
353	Bylazora	3	L12.14.	Pit	Spindle	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
354	Bylazora	3	L12.2.1.4	Destructi	Loom	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
355	Bylazora	3	L12.2.2.6	Destructi	Loom	Coarse-ware		Local	3rd-2nd	
356	Bylazora	3	K12.2.7.3	Destructi	Loom	Coarse-ware		Local	?	
357	Bylazora	3	K12.2.7.4	Destructi	Loom	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Round
359	Bylazora	3	K13.4.1.1	Destructi	Pithos	Coarse-ware		Local	?	Large, in situ
360	Bylazora	3	I13.9.1.	Destructi	Kylix	Hard, compact,	Black Glazed	Attic	480-425	Inset lip

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